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Most CIS States Unable To Fulfill CFE Deadline

LD1209174395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1607 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MINSK, September 12 (Interfax-West) — Most CIS member-states will be unable to honor all their commitments under the CFE [Conventional Forces Europe] treaty by November 17. Russian, Ukrainian, Belarussian and Kazakh officials made this statement at the CIS headquarters in Minsk as the joint consultative commission on disarmament met in session on Tuesday.

Russian delegates blamed the failure to fulfil the treaty on economic problems. They said that Russia was studying the possibility of simpler ways of destroying military hardware, for instance, by making it incapable of military uses. Military equipment would be left outdoors with open motor compartments and hatches for a long time.

Ukrainian officials said their country wished to honor its commitments under the treaty but was unable to do so because the dispute over the division of the Black Sea Fleet remained unsettled. The Ukrainian delegate said that his country was going to retain 680 tanks, 350 armored vehicles and 790 artillery systems.

Kazakhstan's delegate said his country was unable to honor all commitments due to technological and economic problems.

The Belarussian delegate said that the treaty could not be effected by the established deadline because President Alyaksandr Lukashenka last February suspended the elimination of military hardware due to economic problems. The Belarussian delegate said that the government had decided to resume the elimination of military equipment and an official statement to that effect would be made shortly.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 13 Sep

LD1309054895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0504 GMT 13 Sep 95

["Press Review" — ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, September 13 (Itar-Tass) — Today's newspaper highlight developments in former Yugoslavia. The RED STAR [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] daily writes that shelling the Bosnian Serbs NATO, in fact, is targeting directly at Russia's public consciousness. "Let the respected Russians realize that NATO's military machine exists today, which is a pure demonstration of force. If during the war against Iraq the whole world was shown a merely computer picture as an example, four years later the situation in the Balkans looks much more ominous: real "Tomahawks" are hitting real Bosnian targets in the eyes of the world TV viewers," the newspaper said.

"ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA" carries a commentary by Russia's official representative for affairs of former Yugoslavia Aleksandr Zotov, who says that "instead of peace-keeping operations, NATO is practically steadily destroying the infrastructure of one of the Bosnian sides in accordance with its plans to weaken this side under the motto that this might allegedly create more favourable conditions for the peace process."

"TRUD" writes that "NATO's "peace-keeping" activities in Bosnia claim the lives of peaceful civilians, destroy churches, hospitals and schools.

"ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI" publishes a statement made in an interview with the newspaper by Director of the Press and Information Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry Grigoriy Karasin. The newspaper quoted him as saying that "one might get an impression that NATO under cover of its political statements pledging adherence to political methods of settlement is, in fact, turning the grief- stricken soil of Bosnia into a test range to assert its so-called new role in European and international affairs."

"PRAVDA" writes that "now that the crisis has reached its critical point, the situation demands urgent measures to put an end to a full-scale war launched by the powerful military NATO bloc against the small Serb nation."

"IZVESTIYA" carries an interview with Chairman of the Russian Government Viktor Chernomyrdin. In reply to a question what was his ideas of Russia's future and, consequently, of his own future in five years' time, Chernomyrdin said: "I think the situation will not be an easy one. We must do everything possible to prevent new shocks and unexpected turns. For this end, we must carry out what we have planned in full. We must sharply promote social orientation in market relations for the people to realize that this is being done for their sake. We must ensure that no matter who comes into power in fiveee years, our cause be continued, so that positive processes become irreversible. Today we cannot say so with certainty."

"ARGUMENTY I FACTY" published a statement made by the Public Relations Department of the Presidential Security Service, which said that "statements made by representatives of commercial structures alleging that they were being patronized by the Security Service or its heads are groundless and fraudulent. The security service does not intend to leave illegal activities unnoticed and will adequately respond to such activities which infringe on its reputation."

"ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI" writes that the volume of industrial output in Russia went up in August, 1995 by 0.1 per cent compared to the same period last year. The newspaper says that 26 per cent of the Russians fear that they might lose their job next year. This fear is experienced both by managers and rank-and-file personnel.

"KOMSOMOLSAKAYA PRAVDA" carries an interview with a retired colonel of Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service, Vladimir Barkovskiy, who, according to the newspaper, "had stolen nuclear bombs".

'Secret' UN-NATO Memo on Bosnia Bombing Revealed

LD1209115095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1137 GMT 12 Sep 95

[By Ivan Ivanov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BELGRADE, September 12 (Itar-Tass) — NATO planes have the right to bomb Serbs in Bosnia, even if the Serb army does not make any attempts to start combat operation, and the bombing may be stopped only in the case, if the U.N. and NATO get enough evidence that the military potential of Bosnian Serbs is totally destroyed. This follows from the secret "Memorandum of understanding between the NATO Command in the South European theatre of operations and the U.N. Force in former Yugoslavia," whose copy was received by Itar-Tass today.

It is the five-page document with the "confidential" stamp on every page that was used as a basis for the beginning of massive NATO air attacks on military and civilian targets of Bosnian Serbs. The memorandum was signed by Commander of the U.N. force in former Yugoslavia Bernard Janvier and Commander of the NATO Force in Southern Europe Leighton Smith at the Pleso airfield on August 10.

As follows from the preamble of the document, measures, envisaged by it, are intended to "curb attacks of Bosnian Serbs on four zones under U.N. protection — in Gorazde, Sarajevo, Bihac and Tuzla." Not only direct attacks on the "protected zones" may become a pretext for NATO air raids, but also "threats of an attack." In other words, any military preparations of Serbs in the whole of Bosnia, the movement of troops, the functioning of control and communication systems, rear support and the work of the military-industrial complex may be regarded as a "threat of an attack" on any of the four zones. It is this vague wording that has permitted NATO planes to bomb for more than two weeks the facilities of Serbs, situated sometimes hundreds and more kilometres from U.N.-protected zones.

The memorandum assigns the unseemly role of spies to the U.N. troops, deployed for several years in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Naturally, they learned a great deal about the military potential of Bosnian Serbs. According to Article 7 of the memorandum, the U.N. force agreed to provide reconnaissance information to NATO, so that NATO air raids against Serbs would be more effective.

It is envisaged to stage air attacks in the so-called "operation zones" with the "sufficient amount of stationary or mobile targets, related to attacks or threats of attacks" against U.N.-protected zones. NATO planes are allowed to destroy Serb air defence facilities and strike blows not only in Bosnia, but also in the areas of Croatia, populated by Serbs.

The memorandum formulated the terms, under which NATO air attacks could be stopped: it can be done only on the basis of a decision, taken jointly by the Command of the NATO force in Southern Europe and the U.N. force in former Yugoslavia on the grounds of a conclusion, that the threat of attacks on U.N.-protected zones in Bosnia no longer exists. This means that NATO planes will stage massive air attacks until the military potential of Bosnian Serbs is fully destroyed.

UN Delegation Demands Information

LD1209113995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1113 GMT 12 Sep 95

[By Boris Sitnikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] UNITED NATIONS, September 12 (Itar- Tass) — Russia has again demanded that members of the Security Council be given ample information on the secret "Memorandum on Mutual Understanding", signed between the United Nations and NATO, which gave the green light to air raids on Bosnian Serb positions, Itar-Tass was told by Russian permanent delegate on the United Nations Sergey Lavrov after the Monday [11 September] urgent consultations in the Security Council.

"The Russian delegation has again raised in the Security Council the question of giving its members access to the 'Memorandum on Mutual Understanding' which, as earlier reported by the press, was signed between the United Nations and NATO and which, as far as we can judge, serves as the foundation for the current operation in Bosnia," Lavrov stated.

We have every reason to suspect," he noted, "that the basic principles of agreements between the United Nations and NATO on the use of force in Bosnia, contained in this Memorandum, have transcended all the possible limits and allow the violation of Security Council resolutions, including, as we are beginning to learn from various sources, the use of force not only around the 'safe areas', but, in fact, throughout the territory of Bosnia and even against targets on the territories of neighbouring states. It is easy to guess what neighbouring states are meant."

"Moreover, we suspect that precisely this Memorandum contains the United Nations' consent to give up the 'second key' to decisions to end the use of force, and that this document lays down such conditions for launching NATO and rapid reaction force operations, which do not even require any shots to be fired by the Serbian side," the Russian delegate said.

"I repeat," he stressed, "we are gleaning this information from the press and other sources, but the 'Memorandum on Mutual Understanding' has still not been opened to us. We have demanded this to be done today, the more so since we have officially addressed such a request to the U.N. leadership back last week."

UN Official Explains Document

LD1209114395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1101 GMT 12 Sep 95

[By Boris Sitnikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] UNITED NATIONS, September 12 (Itar-Tass) — Official representative of the U.N. Secretary-General Fred Eckhard admitted on Monday [11 September] that there was a secret "Memorandum on Mutual Understanding", signed between the U.N. leadership and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation behind the back of the Security Council. It deals with NATO military operations in Bosnia.

"The question of this Memorandum between the United Nations and NATO was raised at a meeting of the Security Council on Friday. It was pointed out that the document was signed behind the back of the Security Council and was never disclosed to its members. Could you tell us something about this document?", journalists asked Eckhard during the briefing.

"The Memorandum on Mutual Understanding, determining the operational aspects of cooperation between the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the United Nations, is essentially a secret document. This also refers to the previous, first memorandum, which was concluded after the Security Council's approval of NATO actions to back up the U.N. goals in former Yugoslavia. This refers to the essence of the document. As to the problem of familiarising the member-states with this memorandum, it must be discussed by the governments themselves," Eckhard stated. It is noted in the U.N. lobbies that apparently only Russia and China, two permanent members of the Security Council, were not informed about the contents of the memorandum between the United Nations and NATO, since the western "trio" — the United States, Great Britain and France — are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

The existence of a secret memorandum between the United Nations and NATO is not the only strictly guarded secret on the East River. Russia, for instance, is still unable to make the U.N. Secretariat present to the Security Council members the official conclusion on the mine explosion in a Sarajevo market of August 28, which paved the way for NATO air raids on Bosnian Serb positions.

Radio: Kozyrev Knew About Agreement

LD1209233795 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The UN Security Council is meeting in New York today. The meeting is being called on the initiative of Russia's UN representative Sergey Lavrov, who demanded the so-called memorandum on mutual understanding between the UN and NATO be distributed among the members of the Security Council and presented to Russia.

[Correspondent Natalya Frolova] This top secret NATO-UN document signed on 10 August this year in effect allows the Bosnian Serbs to be bombed virtually with absolute impunity. The memorandum says that the NATO forces should deter attacks by Bosnian Serbs on the security zones of Gorazde, Bihac, Tuzla, and Sarajevo. Moreover, NATO air force actions could be triggered not only by an attack, but even by a threat of attack.

ITAR-TASS Belgrade correspondent Ivan Ivanov today learned that the text of this memorandum was made known to the Russian foreign minister in London at the end of July when the meeting of foreign ministers and defense ministers of the members of the Contact Group on the former Yugoslavia was held.

[Begin Ivanov recording] Andrey Kozyrev at that time gave his agreement to the head of the blue-helmets' signing this document on behalf of the United Nations. Thus, Russia, while in effect distancing itself from the NATO air strikes, did in fact give the go-ahead for NATO — and thus, on Russia's behalf, too, to bomb the Bosnian Serbs. [end recording]

[Frolova] It is for this reason that the demand of the official representative at the United Nations, who asserts that only Russia and China were not acquainted with the memorandum, seems rather strange.

This is Natalya Frolova for Moscow Echo.

Kozyrev Positive Over Contact Group Talks on Bosnia

LD1209190495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1704 GMT 12 Sep 95

[By diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Korzun, Igor Porshnev, Yevgeniy Terekhov, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Sept 12 (Interfax) — Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev believes that the results of the Geneva meeting of the foreign ministers of the Union Republic of Yugoslavia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina held on September 8 under the aegis of the contact group "deserves a favorable comment".

"The principles adopted by the conflicting parties determine the future of Bosnia and lay down the equal rights of all peoples living in its territory and open up the opportunity for a political settlement", Kozyrev said in a statement.

Kozyrev said that "all members of the contact group continued concerted efforts to implement the achieved agreements at future sessions of the group to be chaired by the Russian representative".

Kozyrev believes that an international peace conference on the Yugoslav settlement is about to become a reality.

"For this NATO's military action against the Serb republic must be brought to an end at once", Kozyrev said.

The Russian Foreign Ministry said in a statement on Monday evening that further unilateral military operations against the self-declared Serb republic by NATO were utterly unacceptable.

The document says that the "air and artillery strikes have now been completed with Tomahawk cruise missiles fired from US naval vessels in the Adriatic."

"One has the impression that NATO, while talking about its commitment to political settlement, in reality has turned the long-suffering land of Bosnia into a test site to establish its "new role" in European and world affairs", the statement says.

The Russian Foreign Ministry says that this "only aggravates the crisis" in former Yugoslavia.

Karasin Outlines Russian Draft Resolution for Bosnia

LD1209142395 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1421 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Sept 12 (Interfax) — The Russian ambassador to the UN Security Council demanded Monday that the council convene shortly to deplore the use of ship-based cruise missiles against Serbs which Russia views as a new violation of the council's earlier resolutions.

Grigoriy Karasin, an official spokesman for the Russian Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing in Moscow Tuesday that a Russian draft resolution calls for:

— using the UN Security Council's authority to stop the NATO operation:

— demanding that the warring parties in Bosnia immediately agree on a ceasefire, withdrawal of heavy weapons and reopening of humanitarian corridors;

— and, last but by no means least, continuing the peace process started in Geneva.

Moscow does not seek confrontation by submitting this draft, Karasin said.

He emphasized that those who reject this draft will be to blame for the loss of thousands of lives and the destruction of a national economy.

Draft Meets Western Opposition

LD1209200595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1949 GMT 12 Sep 95

[By Boris Sitnikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] UNITED NATIONS, September 12 (Itar- Tass) — The U.N. Security Council discussed on Tuesday a draft resolution submitted by Russia. The draft resolution demands an immediate end to NATO's combat operation against Bosnian Serbs.

Russian permanent envoy to the U.N. Sergey Lavrov told Itar-Tass that the Russian draft resolution met expectable opposition from Western states. However, the discussion of it will be resumed by the Security Council on Wednesday, Lavrov said.

He said the resolution motioned by Russia demands that NATO stop strikes and the hostile parties stop combat and unblock Sarajevo.

Most of comments voiced doubt about the resolution, Lavrov said.

Some Western members of the Security Council said the use of force in Bosnia was justified by Security Council's resolutions.

Others showed more understanding of Russia's concern about the spiralling NATO operation destructive for civilians.

Lavrov quoted many delegations as saying that they were awaiting sanctions from their countries to come on Wednesday.

On proposal from the Russian delegation, further debate was set by the Security Council for Wednesday.

Karasin Demands End to NATO 'Information Blackout'

MM1209173795 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 13 Sep 95 p 1

[Report by Grigoriy Karasin, director of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry Information and Press

Department: "Is There a Secret Memorandum Between the United Nations and NATO?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Everyone knows that the situation in Bosnia cannot be called anything other than extremely acute and it is not getting any better. Two days ago the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry issued a statement pointing out that despite the positive results of the Contact Group's work in Geneva last week, offering the possibility of progress toward a political settlement of the conflict, NATO is continuing its unilateral military actions against the Serb Republic. Furthermore, the bomb and artillery strikes are now being augmented by Tomahawk cruise missiles fired from U.S. warships in the Adriatic. The impression is being created that NATO is hiding behind statements about a commitment to political methods of resolving the crisis but is in fact turning Bosnia's long-suffering land into a test ground for asserting its so-called new role in European and international affairs.

In the next few days the Foreign Ministry intends to step up the political and diplomatic efforts to unravel this difficult knot and end all the strong-arm actions on Bosnian territory. In particular, Igor Ivanov, Russian first deputy foreign minister, flew out to Zagreb today. He plans to meet there with Franjo Tudjman, president of Croatia, and with representatives of the Bosnian Muslims. On the same day he will go to Geneva, where the next session of the Contact Group will be held. The item on the agenda is the further elaboration of the parameters of a peace settlement in Bosnia. In keeping with the previous accord the next meeting of the Contact Group's members is due to be held in Moscow.

In another area of Russian political activity, the Security Council in New York, our UN representative Sergey Lavrov has demanded pointedly and forthrightly an end to the information blackout surrounding NATO's actions in Bosnia. He was speaking about the Security Council being in full possession of information on everything happening there, bearing in mind that what is going on is a clear escalation of NATO's military actions. Not only have Air Forces been used, as I have already said, but the Navy is also being used, and in no way is this in line with the Security Council's decision. This is a flagrant violation of the terms stipulated by it for NATO's involvement in support of the UN forces. We, like the other Security Council members, are entitled to the full picture of events in Bosnia, including the results of the shelling and the civilian casualties.

There is another problem that troubles us. From the press and other sources reports have emerged about the existence of a secret memorandum of mutual understanding between the United Nations and NATO. It laid down basic principles governing the use of force against the Bosnian Serbs which run counter to the Security Council's resolutions. We demand that this memorandum, if it exists, be presented to the Security Council members. We want to know the truth about this document.

In short, the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry is doing everything possible to secure an immediate end to the strikes in Bosnia and promote the peaceful solution of the problem.

Moscow To Hold New Talks With Partners on Bosnia

LD1309064495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0611 GMT 13 Sep 95

[By Valeriy Sevryukov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, September 13 (Itar-Tass) — The leadership of the Russian Foreign Ministry plans to hold on Wednesday a new round of talks with its partners to settle the Bosnian crisis.

Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his Belarusian counterpart Uladzimir Syanko will hold talks in Moscow this morning. It is expected that the sides will exchange opinions on the situation in former Yugoslavia.

First Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov departs for Zagreb today where he will meet Croatian President Franjo Tudjman as well as representatives from Bosnian Muslims.

Later in the day, Ivanov plans to fly to Geneva from the Croatian capital to chair a meeting of the international Contact Group together with Carl Bildt, head of the European Union mediation mission.

According to Aleksandr Zotov, the Russian president's special representative in former Yugoslavia who will also participate in the Geneva meeting, its participants are expected to lend more definite form to principles of settling the situation in the region, which were agreed a week ago.

The diplomat noted in an interview with Itar-Tass that the range of topics to be discussed covers all aspects of the Yugoslav crisis, including such issues as Bosnia's constitutional setup as well as sanctions against Belgrade.

In the opinion of the Russian side, a ceasefire should be one of the main demands of the Contact Group. It is especially urgent now: the map of the Contact Group is a starting point for pacifying the warring sides. However, talks on territorial delimitation of Bosnia risks to lose its content in the conditions of massive NATO air strikes, under the screen of which military plans of rolling back Serbs are being hatched.

"According to our point of view," Zotov said, "it is necessary to stop immediately the war against Bosnian Serbs, in which NATO becomes one of the sides."

Deputy Foreign Minister Begins Talks in Zagreb

LD1309102695 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0937 GMT 13 Sep 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb, 13 Sep (ITAR-TASS) — A Russian Foreign Ministry delegation headed by First Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov began a visit to Zagreb by holding talks with international mediators Carl Bildt and Thorvald Stoltenberg, UN special envoy Yakushi Akashi, and UNPROFOR commander General Bernard Janvier. After the meeting, which is being held in the UN mission in Zagreb, the Russian diplomats will set off for talks with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. The consultations will focus on a peaceful settlement in Bosnia and the solution of the Croatian-Serbian territorial dispute.

Former Envoy Zotov Urges 'Top-Level' Bosnia Meeting

MM1209184795 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Sep 95 p 7

[Editorial Office feature citing Aleksandr Zotov, Russia's special representative for the Former Yugoslavia; Alyaksandr Lukashenka, president of Belarus; and Vladimir Kuznechevskiy, editor of the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA International Desk, under general headline: "Bosnia Crisis: Three Expert Opinions"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt]**Russia's Line Is Clear**

Instead of peacemaking NATO is now effectively engaged in the systematic destruction of the infrastructure of one of the Bosnian sides and the planned weakening of that side using the slogan that in this way conditions more conducive to the peace process can be established.

However, our terms have been stated quite clearly by Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin.

Russia's line is clear. We want no winners or losers in Bosnia and the former Yugoslavia as a whole, we want an end to the military activity, first by NATO and then the warring sides. It is necessary to implement the Contact Group's plan with possible modifications, if that suits all the sides. We want the idea of convening a top-level conference in accordance with Russia's proposal to be implemented and, furthermore, without delay.

[passage omitted on Belarus President Lukashenka's view expressed on Radio Liberty that former USSR republics should strengthen their own unity through a possible military bloc of CIS republics in response to what is seen as the "destruction of the Slavs;" and the view of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA International Desk Editor Kuznechevskiy that the Contact Group's proposals for the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina are the preferred outcome to the crisis]

General Sinitsyn: Use of Navy Exceeds NATO Mandate

LD1209175395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1746 GMT 12 Sep 95

[By Anatoliy Yurkin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, September 12 (Itar-Tass) — From the military viewpoint, the use of cruise missiles in the Balkans made it possible to destroy Serbs' anti-aircraft control systems. The use of the navy in the operation exceeded the mandate of Rapid Reaction Force, Colonel-General Viktor Sinitsyn, chief of the General Staff of the Russian anti-aircraft defences, told Itar-Tass on Tuesday.

Tomahawk missiles launched from board the U.S. missile cruiser Normandy on Sunday destroyed the command post and communications, thus damaging the control system of Serbs' anti-aircraft defences. As a result of missile strikes, NATO aircraft received the opportunity to fly missions unobstructed, General Sinitsyn said.

In view of the fact that Tomahawk cruise missiles of BGM-109C modification were used during the Desert Storm operation in the Persian Gulf, it may be supposed that positions in the Banja Luka area were subjected to strikes by the same kind of missiles. The maximum range of such missiles is 2,500 kilometres, flight velocity 885 kilometres an hour, wing spread 2.62 metres, diameter of the hull 53 centimetres.

The operation was planned with using the experience obtained in Iraq. Tomahawk missiles were then used against the Iraqi anti-aircraft system. As the combat operations spread, they were used against personnel.

In view of Western staffs' reliance on stereotypes in organising and conducting combat operations, there is a possibility of more missile strikes on Serb targets, the more so since NATO command disregards decisions of the U.N. Security Council and, in addition to aviation, resorts to the use of naval forces, General Sinitsyn stressed.

Council Member Discusses NATO Expansion, B-H Policy

AU1209163495 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 11 Sep 95 p 6

[Interview with Andranik Migranyan, political scientist and member of the Russian Federation Presidential Council, by Jozef Janto during Migranyan's "recent visit to Slovakia:" "No Great Changes Will Occur in Russia After the Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Janto] Let us now take a look at the most burning problem of the present, Bosnia. What course will developments in former Yugoslavia take in the coming weeks, months, or years, in your opinion?

[Migranyan] This question is very difficult to answer. I was involved in drafting the State Duma declaration on the Bosnia issue, which elaborates on how the problem should be addressed. But I do not want to go into this now because it is first necessary for our Western partners to radically change their attitude toward the conflict in former Yugoslavia. For them, the culprit and the victim of the conflict, the party that is right, as it were, and the party that is wrong, are determined in advance. It is with great sorrow, however, that I must say that the Russian side has not been sufficiently active in trying to change this situation. Our foreign policy committed a gross error when it allowed the UN Security Council to impose the embargo on Serbian-Montenegrin Yugoslavia. The second great mistake was the approval of the UN secretary general's full authority to deploy NATO forces and, last but not least, the approval for the formation of NATO rapid deployment forces. In this way, this organization has been virtually extended to the Balkans and central Europe.

[Janto] What is the most effective way of guaranteeing security in Europe, in your opinion, if not by means of enlarging NATO?

[Migranyan] I would not like to repeat our official position on this issue, but I will tell you my own ideas, also because I published several articles on this issue recently. After all, you are familiar with our official position. The alliance should not be expanded, while Russia would extend security guarantees to the states of central and eastern Europe. Security issues should be tackled within the framework of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE, the former CSCE). I am of the opinion that this path could be successful. There are now 53 countries in the OSCE, but its present mechanism does not permit the adoption of effective solutions. Likewise, it lacks structures that could operate effectively in crisis situations. I do not think that the security of European countries is threatened at present. Therefore, it is not necessary to enlarge NATO. Instead, it would be good to concentrate on transforming the OSCE so as to change its structures as quickly and as effectively as possible in the interest of security on our continent, as long as NATO or, to be more accurate, as long as NATO plus Russia exist. [sentence as published] Both NATO and Russia must be incorporated into this new system.

[Janto] What is Slovakia's place in these endeavors?

[Migranyan] We monitor very carefully political developments in individual central European and eastern European countries that used to be our important partners until the breakup of the former Soviet Union and that now hold an important position in relations between the former West [as published] and the East. We approach with understanding the policy of those states that also take into consideration the interests of Russia. I believe that Slovakia holds a special place in the Russian strategy toward central Europe in this regard.

[Janto] And what is the Russian strategy toward the West?

[Migranyan] I must stress that I find the West's present policy astounding. It is as though we swapped our tasks. While, in the past, communists in the former Soviet Union had a patent for the solution to all problems and did not allow the other countries under their thrall to pursue their own paths, all these attributes are now to be seen among our Western partners, particularly among the Americans, who demand that the central and eastern European states adopt their model. I believe that there is a great amount of haughtiness in this and that it is rather offensive toward countries that had just freed themselves of one type of subordination. But central Europe is not alone in facing such problems. The former Soviet republics and Russia itself, too, are facing them.

Reports of Sarajevo Attack Warning Called 'Canard'

MM1209151795 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Sep 95 pp 1, 3

[Report by Aleksandr Piatkovskiy and Aleksandr Sychev: "They Wanted To Unleash a 'Cyclone,' But They Let Fly a 'Canard'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Taking no notice of Moscow's trenchant statements demanding an end to the bombing of Serbian positions around Sarajevo, NATO troops have been continuing their strikes against Serbian troops for nearly two weeks now. The combat operations were provoked by the explosion of a mine at the Sarajevo market. UN experts stated that it was the work of the Serbs....

Moscow deemed these conclusions hasty. Russian Colonel Andrey Demurenko, who was serving with the UN forces in Bosnia, broke the "Blue Helmets'" usual rules and stated on television that the investigation carried out was insufficient to clearly establish who it was who caused the explosion at the Sarajevo market. Almost at the same time, ITAR-TASS exploded its own bombshell.

Citing an "officer from the Russian military department who has just returned from a Balkan mission" and who wished to remain anonymous, the news agency reported: The explosion at the market was not the work of the Serbs, but of the NATO special services. It was a large-scale provocation aimed at creating a pretext for a punitive operation against the Serbs. These same special services also organized another explosion at the same market on 5 February 1994, in which 68 people were killed. On that occasion, too, the Serbs were blamed. Only Boris Yeltsin's intervention saved the Serbs from NATO attacks.

Furthermore, the anonymous officer stated, "one of the Russian special services" knew "beforehand" about the provocation that was being prepared. And a week before the 28 August explosion "this was reported through the proper channels to the leadership of the Croats, the Germans, and the Americans." But none of the three did anything to save the people.

The first operation at the Sarajevo market was called "Cyclone- 1," the second "Cyclone-2." The perpetrator of the operation was a certain Rasim Delic. According to the "anonymous Russian officer," Delic is commander of one of the Muslim detachments in Bosnia.

The "anonymous officer's" words were bound to seem quite plausible to the Russian reader.

Russian society can easily believe in Western collusion with the Bosnian Muslims against the Serbs. The provocation at the market fitted in with the general scenario of developments in the Balkans. The Russians believe that the West is practicing a policy of double standards in Bosnia — it is gracious toward the Bosnian Muslims and literally snubs the Serbs, who would by no means benefit from organizing bloody provocations. Their outcome is easy to predict — NATO has long been demanding permission to use force in former Yugoslavia.

The report on France's TF-1 television on the existence of a certain report prepared by Greece for the EU, saying that the provocations involving explosions were organized by the Muslims, only reinforced the Russians' belief in the Serbs' innocence and in the West's intrigues.

Furthermore, Delic also turned out to be a very real figure. We contacted Nikolay Paskhin, RIA-Novosti correspondent in Belgrade, who reported that Delic had served as an officer in the Yugoslav People's Army and had held the post of garrison chief in the city of Doboj. Then he was accused of illegally trading in military property. To escape trial, in 1992 Delic went over to service in the army of the present Yugoslavia. They say he was one of two generals to receive that rank not as a result of length of service, but because he graduated from a special school that trains the top command. Delic took up the post of chief of the Bosnian Muslim army in 1993 after his predecessor had become "politically unreliable."

But after that our investigation began to arouse one doubt after another.

Who is this anonymous officer who so kindly revealed to the ITAR- TASS correspondent an important state secret, breaking the intelligence services' rule — that you don't give away your own secrets?

Russia has two special services engaged in intelligence activity outside our country. They are the Foreign Intelligence Service [SVR] (director — Academician Yevgeniy Primakov) and the Russian Army Main Intelligence Directorate [GRU] (chief — Colonel General Fedor Ladygin). The SVR (the former First Main Directorate of the USSR KGB) is, however, engaged in political intelligence work. The military sphere is usually the GRU's province.

On 28 September [as published], the day of the explosion in Sarajevo, President Yeltsin received political intelligence director Academician Primakov. Tatyana Samolis, press secretary to the SVR director, told us: We are concerned with political matters....

It was considerably more difficult to get hold of anyone from the GRU. After lengthy attempts we managed to contact a military intelligence officer who asked us to call him "Aleksandr Nikolayevich." He was in no hurry to reveal to IZVESTIYA the secrets of his department, as one of his colleagues had done in conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent. "Aleksandr Nikolayevich" said: "Maybe it's something to do with us, and maybe not." And he suggested that we call the Defense Ministry press service.

The Defense Ministry press service, after 24 hours for reflection, told us: We are authorized to state that the GRU has nothing to do with this.

So who are these people? Who are these "anonymous officers?"

The press service added in aggrieved tones: "Why have you latched on to this TASS story like this? Nobody's interested in it, but you keep digging...."

We carried on digging.

Why did neither the United States nor Germany respond to Moscow's warning?

The first thing we tried to find out was when and in what way this warning was conveyed to them.

The first possibility: The report went through intelligence channels, one resident agent passed it to another, hand to hand. That possibility is hard to believe — one resident does not pass secret information to another without the authorization of the top political leadership — or at least not for free.

The second possibility (slightly more plausible): A report from our intelligence staffers is put on President Yeltsin's desk, containing irrefutable evidence of the planned atrocities. Yeltsin decides to ask the U.S. and FRG leadership to stop "Cyclone-2." Incidentally, he talked with Helmut Kohl on the telephone on 24 August, and after that he met with him in Zavidovo. Could Kohl have reassured the Russian president — saying that our boys had been too keen and followed a false lead?

The third possibility (the most probable): The information was transmitted through the usual diplomatic channels. But the Russian Foreign Ministry Yugoslavia Department said that they had received no warnings of the planned provocations.

Could there be some other unknown means of conveying information to abroad? We decided to ask the addressees directly.

In Washington our correspondent Vladimir Nadein was told by a certain Johnson, a State Department staffer from the New Independent States section, that her department does not comment on secret information. You can take that any way you like: Maybe they received it, and maybe not.

At the FRG Foreign Ministry Mr. Lindner told our Berlin correspondent Boris Lysenko that his institution had never heard of this, and in his opinion the entire report about the "cyclones" is a "speculative provocation."

All we are left with is the following suggestion. Either the Westerners did receive from Russia information concerning the planned provocation, and they don't want to admit it. But then, one wonders, why does Moscow not expose their lies? Or else they really didn't receive anything because there was nothing to receive. There was no provocation. "Cyclone-1" and "Cyclone-2" are a myth.

So what did happen?

Most likely there was a social imperative, there was a need for some pretext that would make it possible for Russia to take a tougher line on the Bosnian crisis and cast doubt on the sincerity of NATO's desire to achieve peace in former Yugoslavia. Our suggestion was indirectly confirmed by a high-ranking staffer in the administration who is au fait with Russian Security Council affairs.

It is hard for us to reconstruct the course of events. Either military intelligence (the GRU) or political intelligence (the SRV) was asked to prepare suitable material, or else the intelligence service decided to shine of its own accord.

An intelligence service is like a giant vacuum cleaner sucking in all the information coming in from agents, including rumors, unconfirmed stories, and outright disinformation. All this is raw material for regular analysis, but not for statements in the press. In this case, that rule was broken. Only one thing is clear: An intelligence service could have given ITAR-TASS such material only with the sanction of the top leadership.

In itself, using an intelligence service to put political pressure on other states or for direct disinformation (in professional jargon this is called active operations) is a fairly widespread practice. It is strange that in the case of the "Cyclones" the matter was confined to just one TASS report which even the military, to all appearances, are already beginning to disavow. Neither the Duma deputies who lambasted NATO for its aggression against the Serbs, nor the president, who is displeased with the West's policy, have made use of the "Cyclones."

It is bad luck for the still anonymous Russian special service that failed to launch its "canard" properly. And bad luck for Russian society, which people are trying to manipulate — and so unprofessionally, too.

Government Offers Serb Children Refuge From 'Genocide'

LD1209134095 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1300 GMT 12 Sep 95

[By ITAR-TASS]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 12 Sep (ITAR-TASS) — The Government of the Russian Federation issued a statement today, the text of which ITAR-TASS has received. The statement runs:

"In spite of numerous protests, the NATO command continues to deliver bomb and missile strikes against Serb positions in Bosnia. As a result of this action, completely innocent civilians including the most defenseless of all — children — are dying.

"No one has yet to count the exact number of victims but it is clear that the tragic list is extremely long and is growing by the day. It is difficult to establish the number of children and adolescents left without parent or shelter as a result of unjustified military actions. Thus a question mark hangs over the survival of the present generation of Bosnian Serbs which is threatened with actual genocide.

"The Government of Russia resolutely protests against the harsh, one-sided use of NATO's might in Bosnia against the Serb population and states that it cannot remain indifferent to the tragic fate of the children of our brother Slavs.

"Russia's position with regard to the events in Bosnia is clear. It was set out clearly by Russian President Boris Yeltsin at his news conference in Moscow on 7 September. The Russian Government intends to expand its humanitarian aid to the afflicted population. At the same time Russia intends to take Serb children away from the bombing and shooting to save their lives, to help them escape serious mutilation, and to protect them from adversity.

"To this end, the Government of the Russian Federation is ready to provide the little refugees with the best places to rest in health camps in the south of our country where Serb children will be able to regain their health and forget about the nightmare of war their motherland is living through."

West Seen Ready To Deal With Moscow's Europe Interests

MK1209123095 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 12 Sep 95 p 1

[Commentary by Pavel Felgengauer: "Woe to the Weak, the 'Uncivilized,' and the Vanquished"]

[FBIS Translated Text] With its first strikes against the Serbs, NATO aviation accomplished quite a bit: Numerous targets were effectively engaged, and NATO losses were minimal. The obvious military success of NATO aviation has aroused a feeling of legitimate pride in Western society. The general opinion is that after many months of humiliation in Bosnia, NATO has finally spread its wings and shown it is capable of something.

For a while the West has rallied in the struggle against Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic. Even the pacifist ecologists are supporting the bombing. But overall, the Western public, taught to hate armed violence, has not yet grown fully hard-hearted. The news that everyone would like to hear is the Serbs' agreement to accept all NATO ultimatums and sign a final peace agreement. Common people and pacifists would simply be happy with an end to the bloodshed, and for the military and the politicians the Serbs' capitulation would serve as the best possible justification for the intervention itself.

For the Serb leadership, however, a surrender of weapons and a retreat is not an option. The great Western powers are ready to agree with them on a more or less honorable division of Bosnia in the proportion of 51 percent to 49 percent and on semi-recognition of a semi-independent Serb Republic. Still, everyone in the former Yugoslavia understands that international guarantees are worth little on the battlefield.

The agreements signed earlier under UN auspices failed to save the Krajina Serb Republic. No one can now guarantee to the Bosnian Serbs that, after signing a peace agreement, the Muslims will not begin consistent preparations for a new war, like the Croats in 1991, and that Radovan Karadzic and General Mladic will not be sought out as war criminals with, say, full lifting of the sanctions against the Serbs being conditioned on the extradition of the main culprits of ethnic cleansing.

In the end, the Balkan Slavs will themselves sort out who is to live and who is to die in a particular town, but military interference by the great powers will have considerable impact on the final balance of forces on the battlefield, and the results of this intervention can most seriously impact on the future of the continent. Now a new security system is being tested in Yugoslavia, very reminiscent of the one formed 180 years ago, in 1815, at the Congress of Vienna.

The basic principle of the "Vienna system" was that an unstable balance of forces between the opposing coalitions of large and small European powers was replaced by the principle of a "concert" of the great powers, which the others were forced to follow. At the same time, the great powers openly formulated their right to military intervention "to sustain the principles of a civilized order," which clearly limits the sovereignty of smaller countries and thus recalls Leonid Brezhnev's well-known doctrine, but on a global scale.

The "concert" principle reduces the American superpower to the level of the smaller, European, traditional "great" powers and is therefore becoming increasingly popular on the continent. However, without Russia's participation and without taking its "legitimate" interests into account, there will be no "concert" in Europe.

It was not simply out of politeness that high-level leaders of the European powers came to Moscow last week. For the sake of preserving and consolidating the "concert" of the great powers and so as to avert a new division of Europe into blocs, the West is ready to make serious concessions where "legitimate" Russian interests have been affected, including in the most critical issue for Moscow: NATO's enlargement. Small and medium-sized nations will have to learn to live in a world where they are not so much allies as they are guided, with interest taken in their opinion mostly out of politeness. The principle of consensus has in the meantime been discarded as impractical.

U.S. Talk of Discussions With Russia 'Hypocrisy'

MM1309110095 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Sep 95 p 1

[Article by Vadim Markushin of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "NATO Tries Out 'Tomahawk' Cruise Missiles on European Test Range. Escalation of Balkan Conflict Increasingly Alarms Russians"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Washington is again astounding the world with its hypocrisy. It is apparently "committed to holding productive discussions with Russia." And not about any old subject — about ways of settling the Balkan conflict. "We still regard Russia as a partner in the peace process and believe that continued Russian participation is essential if this process is eventually to succeed," Nicholas Burns, official spokesman for the U.S. State Department, says.

This statement comes two days after Boris Yeltsin's speech in which the Russian president harshly and quite "undiplomatically" raised the possibility of Moscow reviewing relations with NATO in view of this military organization's use of force in the Bosnian conflict. Via Burns, the State Department is calling on the Russians to "pool efforts for the sake of peace, rather than war" after the Serbs have been bombarded with cruise missiles and when further launches of these electronic monsters are being prepared. You get the impression that the inspirers and organizers of "Deliberate Force" have simply lost any sense of proportion concerning consistency between word and deed. It is truly reminiscent of Lev Tolstoy: Napoleon's messages protesting his love for the czar and the Russian people were being delivered by couriers in the huge army advancing to fight in Russia.

The analogy is all the more appropriate in that, in today firing upon the Serbs, NATO is essentially aiming directly at the Russian public mind. Right, it is saying, esteemed Russians, kindly see what the NATO military machine is like today. It is a pure show of strength. And whereas in the case of Iraq the whole world was mostly shown computer images as a visual aid, here in the Balkans four years on everything looks much more sinister: Real "Tomahawks" are hitting real Bosnian targets in full view of a worldwide TV audience.

The claims that the cruise missiles have been used in order to "knock out Serb air defense systems" are also sheer hypocrisy, of course. There can be no question of any kind of "appropriate" use of military force. In the opinion of Russian military specialists, the 13 "Tomahawk" missiles launched Sunday evening from the cruiser Normandy were intended not so much to destroy air defense forces in the region of Banja Luka as to develop these missiles' guidance system in wooded and mountainous terrain. In essence, they believe, the Pentagon was carrying out test flights.

The use of the U.S. Navy and its arms in resolving the Balkans conflict, Major General of Aviation Nikolay Bezborodov, deputy chairman of the State Duma Defense Committee, believes, is not envisaged by any international agreement, including UN Security Council resolutions. The Security Council decisions state that only aircraft can be used in the situation in question. There is even a special proviso that the NATO member countries can assist the UN forces only with the help of air forces.

East Germany's NEUES DEUTSCHLAND is certainly right: The Balkans war has assumed forms that are very attractive to the Americans. Namely: a clearly defined enemy image, the possibility of firing from long range without being subjected to retaliatory strikes, and a demonstration to the world of the superiority of their strategy, tactics, and weapons.

U.S. Said Behind Croatian 'Storm' Offensive

MM1309101395 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Sep 95 p 3

[Article by Colonel Aleksandr Oliynik under the "Military Review" rubric: "Croatian 'Storm' Was Carried Out... According to American Plans" — first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Our special correspondent Aleksandr Oliynik, who has returned from a trip to the burning Balkans, recounts details of the Croats' military operation code-named "Storm." As you know, during the latest Croatian "blitzkrieg" the self-proclaimed Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) was almost totally annihilated, more than 15,000 Krajina Serbs died, and some 250,000 became refugees. But not many people know that the Croats owe their "success" not only to the army, but also to military advisers — Americans, who put into practice, so to speak, NATO's military doctrine....

Belgrade, Zagreb, Moscow — On 6 August the "Croatian Bismarck," as they are now calling President Franjo Tudjman, staged a touching show, illuminated by floodlights, on the walls of the Knin fortress, kissing a 15-meter flag with a checkerboard design which was to be raised over the vanquished capital of the Krajina Serbs. Amid the throng of rejoicing Croatian military, few people noticed three men in camouflage uniform without identification marks who had arrived in the helicopter with Defense Minister Gojko Susak. These were not idle onlookers, but direct participants in the successfully completed operation — American Generals Carl Vuono, James Joseph Lindsey, and Ed Soyster [name as transliterated], the Croats' main military advisers.

It was they and 15 of their compatriots, with the knowledge and blessing of the U.S. State Department, according to STERN magazine, who had been working nonstop since January of this year on the planning of the Croats' large-scale operation. The planning of the operation took place at the top secret "Petar Zrinski" higher military school. Vuono is an artilleryman by specialty. From 1987 through 1991 he was U.S. Army chief of staff, and he is a keen advocate of "superior firepower," which, incidentally, was used in the assault on Knin. Soyster, prior to 1991, headed the Pentagon's special services and is skilled in subversive work among enemy troops. On a par with him is Lindsey, who until recently commanded all the U.S. elite troops, including the army special-purpose forces.... In short, they had quite a legacy to leave to the Croatian officer corps.

As the weekly STERN reported recently, the Pentagon's close cooperation with Zagreb began in November last year, after they concluded a military agreement. The "two Johns" — Generals John Galvin and John Sevoll [name as transliterated], military advisers to the U.S. secretary of state — became frequent visitors to Croatia. It was Gelvin, the weekly claims, who recommended to Minister Susak (who is, incidentally, a former illegal weapons dealer in Canada, where he was as an emigre) the American private firm Military Professional Resources (MPRJ) for preparing and planning military operations. This firm, founded back in 1987 in Washington by retired military men, used to fulfill "delicate" instructions from the Pentagon. Generals Vuono, Lindsey, and Soyster are MPRJ representatives.

...At 0300 hours on 4 August Colonel General Bernard Janvier, commander of the UN forces in former Yugoslavia, received a report which, according to all the indications, he was expecting: The Croatian national security council, it said, had decided at an emergency session to commence a military operation "to liberate Croatian territories in Serbian Krajina from the Serbian occupiers." The offensive was to begin at 0500....

It should be noted that with this act the Croats perfidiously broke not only the peace accords concluded with the Krajina Serbs in April 1994 with Russia's mediation, but also the existing mandate of UNCRO in Croatia — the "UN Confidence Restoration Operation forces." This states directly that in the event of aggression by any of the warring parties against the civilian population or the emergence of danger to the lives of "Blue Helmets" personnel, the UN has the right to use any means to stop the aggressor, up to and including the use of NATO aviation. Alas, instead of vigorous measures, Gen. Janvier sent faxes to the "North," "South," and "East" sectors containing only the instruction that personnel should take shelter at control posts and not hamper the advance of the Croatian army....

The Croats' offensive was launched, as is clear from the sketch [article is accompanied by sketch map of Croatia and Bosnia, with arrows indicating the direction of the advance], all along the front line, from Knin to Petrinja — a total of 630 km. And the massive artillery fire and air raids were directed primarily not at the combat positions of the RSK troops, but at the main cities of Krajina — Knin, Petrinja, Obrovac, Glina, Gracac, and other settlements. For several hours more than 1,000 guns and tank guns were waging fierce fire, in effect, on the civilian population.

According to Captain 2d Rank Mikhail Yermolayev, a UN military observer, who was in Knin on that fateful day, a shell was exploding in the city's streets every 15 seconds. Terrible panic began. People were seeking protection from the peacekeepers, but what could they do?

According to UN observers' assessments, many thousands of civilian casualties resulted from the massive use of Croatian artillery and aviation against densely populated regions of Krajina. Whatever may now be said in justification by Zagreb and its backers, there was a cynical gamble first and foremost on the mass annihilation of Krajina Serbs. The point is that operation "Storm," as the author has learned from reliable sources, was based on the well-known American version of the NATO doctrine "Air-Land Battle 2000," which was first put to the test by the Americans in the course of operation "Desert Storm." Is not that the origin of the name of the Croatian "Storm?"

The crux of the NATO doctrine is the principle of the so-called preemptive massive strike, primarily by combat aircraft and rocket systems, against the second echelon of enemy forces, that is, the rear. The use of "superior firepower" against the rear, in the view of NATO experts, should significantly facilitate the task of the ground forces, since by that time the enemy's air defense will be destroyed, the control and communications system disrupted, and the task of deploying reserves and bringing them up to the front, etc., will be more difficult (because of panic among the population).

This was the plan followed by the Croatian Army in inflicting strikes against the second echelon of RSK forces. That second echelon was the civilian population of cities and villages — the Krajina troops were formed on a territorial basis. Let me note in passing that Krajina's reliance on reservists and not on a professional army was, in my view, one of the main reasons for the defeat of the RSK troops. During the shelling of cities and villages the Krajina soldiers and officers were not thinking about how to reach advanced positions as soon as possible, but about saving their families and household possessions....

A second important component of the operation was also based on "ideas" borrowed from NATO — the destruction and blocking of all types of communications, especially missile guidance systems. The Croats, not without reason, were afraid of a "retaliatory strike" by the Krajina Serbs using "surface to Zagreb" missiles, as the "Okran" missile systems were jokingly dubbed. Therefore from the first minutes of the offensive the Croats carried out fierce artillery shelling and air strikes against the RSK forces' radio relay centers near Gracac and Knin.

Incidentally, they were not immediately successful. In the evening of 4 August a Croatian MIG-21 was shot down on its way to its target over the Plesavica mountain range, where the Serbs' chief radar station was sited. Then the Americans got down to work. At 1850 on 5 August NATO aircraft destroyed that radar station. Later the NATO press service issued a statement that the alliance's planes, while patrolling, had carried out a strike against the Serbs "in error." This is yet more evidence that all the Croats' operations were under the control of the Americans, who knew every detail of each phase of the operation.

Only after artillery raids lasting many hours, when Serbian cities and villages were in flames, did the 150,000-strong Croatian army begin its advance, with tank support. The Bosnian Muslims' 5th Corps began attacks from the rear, from the Bihac area. For two days, as is known, there was heavy fighting along the whole length of the contact line. Although the forces were far from equal, the RSK troops defended as best they could. The fiercest fighting was in the regions of Kordun, Karlovac, Sisak, Petrinja, Medak, and south and east of Knin.... Thus, the 70th Brigade, commanded by Colonel Milan Milivojevic, rebuffed all the Croats' attacks and broke out of the encirclement into Bosnia. The 21st and 15th Serbian Corps fought courageously in the region of Kordun, where the attacks not infrequently ended in hand-to-hand fighting.

All the same, the RSK troops, for reasons that are still not clear, received the order to fall back. The tragic exodus of Krajina Serbs from their age-old lands began. Columns of refugees were fired on mercilessly by Croatian and Muslim artillery and there were air strikes against them. According to a statement by UN representative Rita Lepage, in the first four days alone some 8,000 old people, women, and children died.

It is noteworthy that the Croats acted equally cruelly and... with impunity toward the "Blue Helmets." During the operation seven people died and 20 were wounded among the "Blue Helmets." Why did the system of protection of UN personnel not come into operation in the course of the aggression? Ukrainian Colonel Sergey Mokrinets, commander of the "North" sector, gave me a brief answer to that question in Zagreb: "I'd like to know that too...."

It transpired that Col. Mokrinets had more than once informed the commander of the UN forces that the Croatians were threatening reprisals against the "Blue Helmets" — Poles, Danes, and Ukrainians — and that they had blockaded all the UN observation posts with tanks and taken more than 200 people hostage. It was only after the Croatians had driven the Danes before them that Gen. Janvier deigned to ask NATO aviation for help. And then what? American Admiral Leighton Smith, commander of NATO's southern flank, ignored the appeal. It is obvious why — it did not fit in with U.S. plans.

...More and more information is now coming in to the effect that the Americans were behind the Croatian "Storm." Even THE NEW YORK TIMES admitted it the other day. The newspaper reports that when U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry reported to the President on operation "Storm," Bill Clinton inquired anxiously about only one thing — would the Croats succeed in their offensive in such a short time (from four to eight days). The White House, the newspaper claims, eventually consented to the Croats' action, demanding only that Zagreb not permit "ethnic cleansing" of the Serbs.

Now the whole world knows how the Croats implemented the Americans' orders — Serbian Krajina has become completely free from Serbs....

Disenchanted With Moscow, Serbs Seen Turning West

MK1209122995 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 12 Sep 95 pp 1, 7

[S.Sh.-signed report: "Under Bombs, But Yet Undaunted. Behind the Fulminating Yeltsin's Back, the Serbs Come to Terms With Washington"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The sudden fit of the Kremlin's foreign policy activity has fizzled out, and the atmosphere of sleepy apprehension is back in the corridors of the Foreign Ministry. Diplomats at the skyscraper on Smolenskaya Square are holding their breath in anticipation of news from Sochi lest Boris Yeltsin, who is soaking in the sour warm water of the blackest possible sea, may invent and order them to carry out anything else.

Never have the words of Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, whose wont is to repeat on every convenient occasion that the president is personally in charge of the diplomatic front, been so true. Quite so: Once the Boss expressed his royal displeasure with the ministry's work, they at once unleashed a flurry of activity, saw to it that a UN Security Council meeting was convened, and poured forth a voluble speech. As soon as Boris Nikolayevich relaxed his vigilance, the showy simulation mechanism ground to a standstill.

Foreign Ministry officials can hardly be blamed for such a style of work. The president, who decided to rectify personally the miscalculations that have emerged, did not leave them a particularly wide choice. Yes, the Foreign Ministry's reaction to NATO's mass air strikes that began on 30 August was quiet and matter-of-fact, but not because of the ministry's being malicious or selling out to world capitalism lock, stock, and barrel. There are no longer any other levers of pressure in the ministry's arsenal. Those it still has may only be set in motion with the president's authorization. At the weekend, Boris Nikolayevich consented to release another two — fairly soft ones — from the emergency reserves. That is to say, he approved the Duma's law on humanitarian and commercial assistance to Serbia and allowed the raising of a bit of a stink at the UN Security Council. That's it, the limit is exhausted. What has been left is just resolve and incorrigibility. As a result, a complete faux pas. NATO is further stepping up its attacks; even the "Tomahawks," which had been rusting away at depots since the battle with Saddam, have been made use of, but there is neither thunder nor lightning from the Kremlin. The president has been presented with an unenviable choice: either to swallow his pride and forget about his recent harsh threats, or to venture a straightforward break with the rest of the world, which has unilaterally turned its back on the Serbs.

Had Boris Nikolayevich been accustomed to listening to the reaction his words elicit, he would have certainly been struck by the virtual lack of a response from the Serbs, whom he thus favored. He took the West so sternly to a task, but in return did not receive a simple "merci" from them, let alone heartfelt thanks. Moreover, one gains the impression that the "brotherly Slavs" are somehow even embarrassed to hear all these loud great-power noises from Moscow. What can this signify?

Most observers agree that this can signify nothing but approaching peace. Yet, in an atmosphere of durable, lasting peace there will be, alas, little room for Moscow in the Balkans.

The instantaneous, as if well-orchestrated, fall of Krajina into the Croats' embrace has received a follow-up. The foreign ministers of Belgrade, Sarajevo, and Zagreb have just approved in Geneva the principles of a peaceful partition of Bosnia into two halves between "greater" Yugoslavia and Croatia, which is accepting the Bosnian Muslims as its subjects. Bosnia's Serb-populated areas consist of two parts of equal size in the west and east of the country. Evidently, the Serbs will have to leave the western territories, which are the farthest from Mother Serbia. The stated goal of NATO's air aggression is to lift the siege of Sarajevo; but for some reason it is the areas of western Bosnia, which are not adjacent to Sarajevo, that have been subjected to the fiercest attacks. Furthermore, precisely this area was attacked by the joint forces of the Croats and Muslims under the cover of air strikes.

Data on the Bosnian Serbs' losses are mixed. The most careful preparations, followed by two weeks of uninterrupted air raids using smart, laser-guided bombs — it would seem that nothing has been left alive among the Serbs. But no, independent experts assert that a major part of their heavy hardware is still intact, while the good General Mladic categorically refuses to clear the Bosnian capital's environs.

Over the past several days the mass media have been pushing the idea of "a provocation" or conspiracy of Western special services that set up the street explosion in Sarajevo became the pretext for the air raids. One gains the impression, however, that the actual target of the strikes is not the Serbs, who are now ready to put up with what little they may be given — "only" half of Bosnia. To all appearances, this is their own, sensitive public and the Muslims, who are far from happy at the increasingly realistic prospect of living according to Zagreb's instructions.

Milosevic, Karadzic, and Company are nobody's fools, and to the howl of air raid alerts they are sizing up various options for the peaceful life that is already around the corner. Where to go, whom to turn to? Who can help to restore an economy that has suffered billion-dollar losses? Clearly, this is not penniless Moscow. Interestingly, the Americans offered their current peace plan on conditions fairly favorable for the Serbs after the latter had gone through a serious humiliation in Croatia. This is an example of real, not imaginary diplomacy, where an arch enemy at once readily takes your side. Farsighted Wall Street understands that only a strong Serbia can be a guarantor of stability in the region and acts accordingly.

Spokesman Denies Intelligence Training For Iranians

LD1209114495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1057 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Sept 12 (Interfax) — Head of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service's Press Bureau Yuriy Kobaladze has bluntly rejected a Washington Times report claiming the service is teaching Iranians "new intelligence methods as part of new relations between secret services of the two states."

"Such claims are a mere invention, they are ungrounded," Kobaladze told Interfax Tuesday.

The Russian Foreign Intelligence Service "has repeatedly said it is open for cooperation with secret services of all states if it corresponds with Russia's national interests", he stressed.

"However, the service does not comment on its relations with foreign colleagues," added Kobaladze.

All Russian Flights to Afghanistan Halted

LD1209174595 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] All flights by Russian aircraft to Afghanistan have been halted. The Air Transport Department has taken this step in protest against the seizure of the Il-76 aircraft and its seven-man crew in Kandahar on 3 August. The aircraft was seized by the Taleban movement, which is opposed to the Afghan Government. Yesterday's report on Mayak radio station that the aircraft had been released and had landed in Tashkent is not in accord with reality, our correspondent has reported.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Favors Most Bank Consortium Proposals

LD1209174895 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1607 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Sept 12 (FIA-INTERFAX) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin agreed with most proposals put forward by the Russian Banks' Association on August 31.

The association told INTERFAX's Financial Information Agency that it had received a relevant document from the presidential administration.

A spokesman for the association said Yeltsin had instructed First Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays and acting Central Bank Chairwoman Tatyana Paramonova "to prepare draft decisions on each point of the proposals together with the association and submit them according to the established procedure."

The spokesman did not exclude the possibility of creating a standing consultative council under the Central Bank in the near future. The council will include representatives of the presidential administration, government staff, Finance Ministry, Economics Ministry, State Taxation Inspection, Precious Metals and Stones Committee and Russian Banks' Association.

The association will participate in the development of a procedure for deploying special police units, directly subordinate to a special department of the Interior Ministry, in banks.

Yeltsin also asked the government and Central Bank leaders to consider guaranteeing people's deposits with banks together with the association.

Chernomyrdin Interviewed on Current Issues

MM1209163595 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Sep 95 pp 1,2

[Interview with Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin by Political Observer Albert Plutnik aboard the Premier's aircraft en route to Moscow from Kursk; date not given: "Viktor Chernomyrdin: Everything Must Be Done To Prevent New Upheavals" — first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] The chairman of the government gave this interview to IZVESTIYA political observer Albert Plutnik on board the "Premier's" Tu-134 during his latest tour of Russia's regions (this time to Kursk). His work schedule on the ground is mapped out down to the last minute and it would not be easy to find time for a long discussion there.

[Plutnik] You probably have to get used to the kind of job, the constant workload, and the pace of life in which you have absolutely no time for yourself?

[Chernomyrdin] The way things worked out I rose to the top gradually with no abrupt changes of direction. It may be said that a heavy workload built up when I was young. I got used to it even though it was difficult. At the age of 34 I became director of a large enterprise — the Orenburg gas processing plant — and I directed a mighty gas extraction complex in West Siberia.... My whole life has been spent alternately in these things. Deputy minister, minister, deputy chairman of the council of ministers....

[Plutnik] Pavel Grachev once delivered an impassioned monologue on television about what a difficult and thankless task it is being defense minister in Russia today. Such comments can be heard increasingly often from high-ranking officials. Increasingly it seems from those who in words at least perceive their position in the top echelons of power as some kind of sacrificial mission for the sake of Russia's future prosperity. How would you express the point of your mission?

[Chernomyrdin] I have to say that many people are being crafty when they use such jargon as sacrifice, altar, for the sake and the good of... Of course, being a leader of any rank is very difficult indeed if you have a sense of responsibility for your work. All the more so if you have to change the sphere of your work or abruptly broaden its scale. It goes without saying that it would have been far easier for me if I had stayed in my old job. I have known such difficult construction projects, such major decisions, and such changes of the classic and non-classic type that I can say bluntly now that I am not easily caught unawares in any situation.

[Plutnik] Not even in your present post?

[Chernomyrdin] Not even there. Even though this is vast and intensive work. There is a great deal in life that you have to give up. A very great deal. I sometimes think: Does it have to be like this in life, right now, not a moment sooner or later. No matter what they say everyone has always found it difficult in this position — Kosygin, Ryzhkov, and Pavlov. They all had problems of their own. But those problems were trivial compared to today's problems. I am convinced that those people who come after us will encounter difficulties. But they will be different, not of the same order of magnitude. In any event, that is my wish for them.

[Plutnik] It was once said that if you want the best for someone say to him: Do not live in times of change. But the interesting thing is that even in this era none of the top leaders is in any hurry to freely surrender office.

[Chernomyrdin] I would like to talk about that very point. After all, no one forces anyone, no one makes them stay. If someone comes to me and hands me his resignation I say — fine. Several people have done so — no problem. Or there were those who did not accept my invitation to join the government. Back in December 1992 Chernomyrdin was put in charge of the cabinet and not Gaydar and I said to Yegor Timurovich then: You can stay in your old position as first deputy. After all, he was not the premier, only the acting premier. Gaydar did not accept. I do not favor forcing anyone to join or remain, I am not going to make them. I make my offer — it was yes or no.

Heaven forbid that anyone consults with his wife. I do not let people like that come anywhere near me, I never repeat my invitation. When I was still working as a director I realized for the rest of my life what kind of people these were — those who invariably consult with their wives on such occasions.

[Plutnik] As head of the government you found yourself in a situation that was fundamentally new in our state. For the first time we have what is essentially a coalition government in operation, a government which includes democrats, Communists, and members of the Agrarian Party. Soskovets, Chubays, Zaveryukha, and Kozyrev are most probably not ideologically from the same stable. Can an assembly of such individuals form a united team?

[Chernomyrdin] It is indeed a paradox — there has been so much talk about the need to create a coalition government yet one has been in existence for a long time. Is it possible to adhere to a common line like this? Undoubtedly. As head of the cabinet I will never allow anyone for the sake of ideological doctrines or personal ambitions to take any steps which do not fit in with our policy. No way. You need have no doubts on that score. There is a program and a plan of actions. I have a thousand keys on the keyboard that I can press if need be.

[Plutnik] Does the government enjoy sufficient independence under conditions of strong presidential power?

[Chernomyrdin] I must be frank here.... Well, first, all steps relating to the chief issues are agreed in advance and checked. But this does not mean that I run to consult [the president] on everything. How would I appear then? Boris Nikolayevich himself has been through a big school and has professional knowledge of the science of management. Second, my entire previous experience has accustomed me to assume responsibility without unnecessary hesitation. I "emerged" from the gas industry! There, if something happens, there is simply no time to consult. Delay can mean terrible explosions and people's deaths. Passive waiting for instructions can lead to far graver consequences than even mistakes made when taking vigorous measures. It would be fatal for me now, I believe, to work while looking over my shoulder. What will people say, how will they look on me?... My principle is that it is better to hold someone back than to push him in the back.

But the president is the president. It is necessary to carry out a decision when it has been adopted. Various situations arise when it is necessary to persuade. The president does not always agree with me. Here, I believe, a great deal depends on me. I must argue my position in greater depth at the weekly meetings, where, according to the established tradition, I discuss all questions with the president.

[Plutnik] To what extent are you free to choose candidacies for the government, particularly for the posts of the power ministers?

[Chernomyrdin] I am not free. Absolutely not. The power ministers are the president's prerogative. He has aides and advisers. They make suggestions. But I can have my own viewpoint, and I always express it to the president.

[Plutnik] It turns out that we really should not identify the government's activities with those of the election movement that the premier heads. It is interesting that, having become chairman of "Our Home," you started speaking of approaching stabilization and even of incipient production growth far more frequently than before, as chairman of the government. Such growth is probably more noticeable through the eyes of the leader of an election bloc than through the eyes of the head of government?

[Chernomyrdin] I must admit that I do not generally like to speak and hear of achievements. For me business conferences are far more interesting than ceremonial sessions. In principle, I believe that everything that has been done, even if it has only just been done, is past history all the same. It might be the finish, but it is an intermediate one. We must think of the end result. I have never required my deputies to report to me what they have done, what they have succeeded in. I never need this. But as for what has not succeeded.... The election race has its own laws, which have to be taken into account.

[Plutnik] But you said recently that you see no serious rivals to your bloc in the upcoming elections. Many people, by the way, did not take that as a joke.

[Chernomyrdin] I am not such a frivolous person as to say such things without a smile. Still less be overconfident. We are the only ones whom everyone else will criticize. Other blocs and movements selectively choose targets for their attacks, depending on their political partialities. Authority is a target for everyone. People in Russia have never liked authority. Not only have they not liked it, they have feared it. And with reason. In public they swore to love it, while in their soul and in the kitchen they reviled it. I would like to be a representative of a power that is not terrible. Of one which would be respected, but not out of fear. Statements frequently rush by now: What is needed is a strong hand, almost an iron fist. Yes, some people probably find it easier to live like that — there is someone up above to think for them. But we must awaken the sense of our own worth, in order to realize at last that we must count on ourselves above all.

[Plutnik] The other participants in the election battles will be judged on their declarations, words, and plans. You alone will be judged on your actual deeds. This is one of your rivals' few very important advantages.

[Chernomyrdin] We are fully aware of this. They will be liked or disliked depending on who speaks more loudly, who chooses a juicier word, and who behaves more boldly. We are not permitted this — we have no one to blame. Will we be able to make ourselves understood explaining that there were and can be today no simple and quick solutions in Russia capable of ensuring a worthy life for all its citizens tomorrow? I was born and grew up in a village, and difficult concerns about the most vital things are very close to me. Therefore I think constantly about how important it is to see through to the end something that has been begun and not abandon it half way. How many times in our lifetime people have started things and abandoned them, started them and abandoned them again.

[Plutnik] But how do you explain the following fact, for example. Your bloc advocates stability and says that the course of privatization should not be revised. That is undoubtedly good for those for whose benefit it was conducted. Those who indeed form the backbone of the "government party." But how do the millions of ordinary voters who were cheated out of their share of property view a call for stability of this kind?

[Chernomyrdin] Our calls for stability simply cannot be viewed as a desire to freeze the situation as it stands today. This is a question first and foremost of political stability. Of people being able to work, have children and bring them up, and move from city to city peacefully. In recent years we have been through so much that it seems we have earned the right to enjoy life without wars and without fear for the future for many decades to come. But as for privatization, there have been violations there, of course. All these cases must be investigated individually, including in the courts. But we cannot allow a new share-out of property. That would inflict an even greater calamity on society.

[Plutnik] As I understand it, your recent sensational proposal to hold a referendum on the issue of land ownership shows that the economic situation is such that it should not be frozen.

[Chernomyrdin] Our program states that the movement is guided by the principle that what is good for the peasant is good for the country. I want to stress that we are channeling all our efforts into support for rural commodity producers not agrarian bosses. It is their lobby which halted the implementation of that section of the Civil Code which speaks about land ownership. But the Russian peasant has been dreaming about the right to own land since time immemorial. We are convinced that the time has come to close this question. For its part the movement was forced to propose a referendum on land so that the whole people could resolve this most important problem. We hope that the Constitutional Court will also give its view on the implementation of the principles enshrined in the Civil Code.

[Plutnik] Are you not embarrassed by the appearance as number two on your movement's official list of film director Nikita Mikhalkov, who only very recently was closely associated with A. Rutskoy?

[Chernomyrdin] No, I am not. I knew that they are friends beforehand — when Rutskoy was vice president. Mikhalkov and I had a chat. He told me straight — whether I am in your movement or not I will on no account vote for Rutskoy (with his world outlook). For me the most important thing is that Mikhalkov is a responsible man, a Russian who is passionate about Russia and who brings glory to it. Who your friends are and whom you like — that is ultimately everybody's personal affair.

[Plutnik] Your supporters might not be people who think the same as you do?

[Chernomyrdin] I hope they might be. And I am very much counting on it. I am not in favor of everybody's nodding in the same direction. That is a dangerous phenomenon. If you want to find the optimal solution and avoid an explosion — you have to be aware of diverse opinions and take account of many options. Working in the gas sector taught me this. Coming from this background I do not make the same silly mistake twice. I do not slip up in the same place twice. Do you know how I even take criticism in the mass media now? Yes, I am surviving although I am not climbing up the walls. But if it is serious criticism, an argued criticism, I see it as prompting, another view, another opinion, which must be listened to in the search for an optimal solution.

[Plutnik] Do you know what I have just remembered? That you were a member of the CPSU Central Committee. The party taught greater severity in dealing with dissidents. What kind of struggle with yourself did you have to undergo during the transition from your previous beliefs to your modern principles?

[Chernomyrdin] I think it was hard for everybody during the upheaval that occurred. Although I did have my own difficulties. Once I met Mstislav Rostropovich at a concert at the conservatory. He said to me: Viktor Stepanovich, if only you knew how Galina and I sobbed our hearts out when we saw the congress at which you were elected on television. We thought, that's it, it's the end of Russia.... But surely it was not only he and Galina who thought so? I have long been portrayed as a party bureaucrat, a Red director. All because I did not allow the gas pipeline and the gas industry to be cut up into pieces when people were trying to destroy the fuel complex forcibly. What would we have had now? What would there have been to replace the $100 billion which we make from gas?

[Plutnik] Not so long ago you did not count yourself as a promising politician, as if you had no intention whatever of going into politics. But according to the results of numerous polls it is you who have the highest rating among Russian politicians. Be honest, are you comfortable being among the leaders? Or do you, like many people, who admittedly are not among the front-runners, say that you do not believe such statistics?

[Chernomyrdin] If I say that I find it unpleasant you will not believe me. I am not sure that such results are invariably bringing me well-wishers. Which is why I nonetheless had to go into politics. It is a well-known world practice that parties which have won elections form a government which functions until it is replaced by the next one according to the election results. There is much sense in this tradition. Every time the government has reliable support in the form of parliament there is always somebody on whom to put pressure. But what have we got at the moment? A very topical example. In May we indexed pensions. Everything was done according to law, the funds were incorporated into the budget. Then in June there was a new indexation by the will of the Federal Assembly. I am the sort of man who says — a decision has been adopted, find a way of implementing it. But if the money is not provided for in the budget, that means it must be taken from somebody or else printed. But printing it is worse for the pensioners. Prices quickly match such an increase in benefits. We will be taking away more than we are giving. There will be greater suffering. In the end we found the funds.... God sees that we want good things for old people no less than for anybody else.

[Plutnik] You often say — God willing, God preserve us. Are those just words or a manifestation of faith? For some reason I do not recall seeing you on TV during ceremonial services. But I remember seeing other leaders holding candles.

[Chernomyrdin] I have been baptized and am Russian Orthodox. As a child in the village I read religious books with my grandmother and would go to church to pray. And I can put up a candle. But doing things for show....

[Plutnik] Against the backdrop of the tortuous search for funds for even the most necessary measures, there are some fantastically expensive projects around — such as, for instance, the recreation of the Church of Christ the Savior — and grandiose ceremonies and demonstrations such as those held on Poklonnaya Gora or on City Day in Moscow. I am not talking about the congresses held by innumerable blocs and movements or about very frequent elections. Are not the authorities running the risk, along with all their opponents, of looking inclined toward pomp, outward effect, and, as it were, distracting maneuvers at a time when there are so many poor people around?

[Chernomyrdin] When I took part in the City Day events in Moscow, that thought often occurred to me. But we need an expansive, comprehensive, and historical approach. We are not the first to live on this earth, this is not the first day we have been living. We have to pay not only our own bills but those we have inherited. And at the Moscow festivities I was stuck by the abundance of young faces. There were no pompous parades or demonstrations with elements of deliberate propaganda. There were delightful festivities that were 90-percent visited by children and young people. There have to be safety valves. The fact that there has to be moderation in all things and that we need to live according to our means — then we will achieve results more quickly — is another matter.

Do you want me to say that such events should not have gone ahead? I think they needed to be held.

As regards elections.... I took part in the Constitutional Conference, but even I do not know whose idea it was to elect parliament not for a full term but for two years. Whose idea was that? It was another experiment. If we had had the normal four years.... If the idea was to get some kind of ideal parliament.... I have to say that even the current parliament, for all the complaints it has made — not least about me — is not such hard work. Why indeed all this expenditure on reelecting people?

To what end? Where will the money go? And so much literature being produced! Terrible. And what kind of example are these — as you say — election battles setting people? Who respects anyone else?! Some of them are just like zombies. I know myself the kinds of attacks and fabrications that are going on. People are claiming that Chernomyrdin is very wealthy and that he has a whole floor to himself in the new "Gazprom" building. It is offensive even to [have to] deny such things, to descend to that level.

[Plutnik] How do you see the situation in Russia and, consequently, your own future five years from now?

[Chernomyrdin] I do not think the situation will be simple. We have to do everything to prevent any new upheavals or sudden coups. To this end we need to finish off what we have planned. We are not reinventing the wheel. We need to sharply build up the social thrust of market relations — making sure that people can really feel that this is being done for their sake. We need to ensure that whoever comes to power five years from now will continue this work, we need to ensure that positive processes become irreversible. We cannot yet claim that today. [Chernomyrdin ends]

The aircraft was already landing at the "Vnukovo-2 airfield. The flight was over. It was 2100. The premier's official limousine was waiting. He still had to look in at the office, at the White House....

Chernomyrdin Unaware of Plans for Kozyrev

LD1209180295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1750 GMT 12 Sep 95

[By Gennadiy Yezhov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, September 12 (ITAR-TASS) — During a meeting with Japanese journalists on Tuesday Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin said he knows nothing of the possibility of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's dismissal. Answering questions from representatives of the Japan Newspaper Publishers' and Editors' Association, the Prime Minister said he is not going to resign if he is elected member of parliament. "It is for the president to decide this," Chernomyrdin said.

Chernomyrdin expressed "dissatisfaction" with the canvassing by the all-Russia socio-political movement "Russia Is Our Home" which he heads and with the movement's work in provinces.

Asked about the crisis of the banking system in Russia, the Premier said that things had not gone as far as crisis during the recent events at the Moscow Interbank Credit Exchange. "We warned banks that they will have no opportunity to speculate at interbank credit market," Chernomyrdin said. His statement evoked support of Japanese journalists. They noted that similar processes also take place in Japan. Japanese need good banks, so week banks may be liquidated.

Chernomyrdin went along with the attitude expressed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin regarding the Bosnian conflict on Friday. He called attention of Japanese guests to the Russian government's statement to this effect circulated on Tuesday.

The prime minister expressed satisfaction with favourable development of Russo-Japanese commercial and economic ties and with the growth of bilateral trade which increased over 50 per cent in the first seven months of the current year. Still Russia and Japan have many untapped opportunities in the area, Chernomyrdin said.

The question of Japan's territorial claims to Russia did not crop up at the meeting.

The Japan Newspaper Publishers' and Editors' Association includes leading newspapers and news agencies, such as Yomiuri, Asahi, Kyodo Tsushin.

Continued Pre-Election Reportage, Commentary

'Vybory' Automated System To Be Used

MK1209132895 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 12 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by Vladimir Novikov: "Ryabov Quits? The State Will Control Itself After All"]

[FBIS Translated Text] What amounted to a surprising statement by Central Electoral Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov has confused certain newspapers that immediately carried a sensational piece of news the world over: The "Vybory" automated system (that same state automated system, GAS) will not be used in the upcoming Duma and presidential elections, and at present it is planned "only to test some of its elements."

Your MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS correspondent had to turn to Nikolay Timofeyevich [Ryabov] himself for comment. In his words, votes will in fact be counted according to the old system in the upcoming elections. But the state will still control itself — votes will be counted in parallel by the automated "Vybory" system starting with territorial, not ward electoral commissions. Ryabov says that data counted by the system will emerge sooner than that processed in the old-fashioned way by hand.

These statements give rise to sinister reflections. The parallel calculation will be done at a crucial stage — starting with the territorial commissions and higher, up to the Central Electoral Commission itself. The possibility of vote-rigging at these stages would have considerable impact on the overall results. If two or three counterfeit ballots are added by the ward electoral commissions, this will not change much. But what if the water is muddied at higher stages? Moreover, who is actually to be trusted, the state, which will count votes by hand through its electoral commissions, or the Central Electoral Commission's (also state-run) system, which will be doing parallel calculations? Whose results will be cited in the end as official — that is the question.

According to Ryabov, for technical reasons the system's terminals cannot be installed directly at electoral wards, from which all the initial data will be forwarded to the top. For this very reason the Central Electoral Commission chairman says that only elements, not the whole system, will be used: "If 90 percent of the commissions work with the system — these are just elements, a part of the system. And if a certain part is missing, the system as such cannot function."

As for hardware, it is being "brought in on schedule." The shortage of space to house the equipment remains. "Many rooms do not meet the requisite technological standards, they have to be done up." Telecommunications also have yet to be arranged.

Now, the most ticklish problem — who will finance this monster. According to Ryabov, a total of 280 billion rubles has been appropriated for the conduct of the elections in the federal budget. The problem is that back in July the Central Electoral Commission chairman publicly cited a different figure, 400 billion. Feel the difference, ladies and gentlemen! Can it really be so that the purse of Ryabov's guys has been nearly halved within just these two months? The fact is, however, that the chairman has until recently never tired of boasting over and over again: "We are the sole organization to which the Finance Ministry and the budget have been giving fully what is due it." Then it is not as rosy as the central electoral commissioner would like it to be.

While constantly lashing out at everyone who attempts to draw on foreign sources, including groups of independent observers, Ryabov turns out to be not averse to sticking his hand into the West's pocket. He is now making no bones about the fact that the budget allocations for the system are insufficient, so the Central Electoral Commission is contemplating borrowing money from abroad via the government. Commission members are planning to shake down such organizations as the U.S. Eximp Bank and all kinds of funds of humanitarian and technological assistance to the countries of East Europe and the CIS. Our government, too, will give the creditors its guarantees.

To all appearances, the infusions will be mixed: partly in hardware, partly in cash. As a matter of fact, as regards the hardware, it is planned to place emphasis on domestic models that will be assembled by the St. Petersburg optical-mechanical association. By the way, the general director of this enterprise is swearing by almighty God that their technology will make Western analogues pale in comparison.

Despite statements that only elements of the system will be used in the upcoming elections, Ryabov's team has not given up its idea of exercising automated control over the entire process. But the Central Electoral Commission is a state organization and the funds earmarked for installation of the system also belong to the state; hence, the authorities want to control themselves. And while formerly the procedure of control was entrusted to groups of independent observers, now the entire process will be "supervised" by those who have a vested interest in a certain outcome in the December vote.

Lapshin Warns Against Fragmentation

MM1209133495 Moscow PRAVDA-5 in Russian 8-15 Sep 95 p 7

[Remarks by Mikhail Lapshin, chairman of the Agrarian Party of Russia, "transcribed" by Yuriy Dyakarev: "Trojan Horse in Their Own Camp"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The new election marathon has started in a situation similar to the 1993 elections. Then the guns had hardly finished firing. The opposition had been routed, shaken, and politically sidelined. But hardly had it managed to gather its strength just in time for 12 December when it upset the apple cart in the notorious Kremlin television show.

Now the guns' role has been allocated to the opposition itself, to its disorder and discord, which the Kremlin has organized in the opposition's ranks according to the "divide and rule" principle. The regime has become so firmly rooted in its positions of power that not even a crane could wrench it out. These people realize that if they suffer defeat in the elections it will not just be a case of a change of nameplate — responsibility will have to be taken. That is why the most improper methods are coming into play.

They have estimated that approximately 55 percent of voters will vote for left and center-left forces. That is a disaster for them. How can opposition candidates be stopped from progressing? Very simply: Put forward 12-13 parties and movements from this wing with leaders who are known and respected by the public. There are, thank God, enough of them. During the years of struggle a whole galaxy of bright, interesting, and recognizable politicians has grown up.

They go to one of these people and start sweet-talking him: Why don't you become a great leader, you are an autonomous figure and generally a "towering presence." Suddenly the person has been seduced and rushes headlong into doing on his own in a matter of weeks what would normally take years. Victory does not await him — only the fate of another "Garden Ring party" — but he takes some votes with him. Just figure it out: There are 12-13 parties, the people cast their votes, the outcome seems like victory but in actual fact each has 4.5-4.9 percent of the vote, and they are out of the race. Deputies' seats go to the right. It is to be hoped that we go to the elections as individual collective farms, work brigades, and streets, and then everything will generally be "hunky-dory."

That is why at the 5 April All-Russia Peasant Assembly it was decided that the Agrarian Party, the Agrarian Union headed by Vasiliy Starodubtsev, and the agro-industrial complex workers' trade union headed by Aleksandr Davydov are proceeding in the united "Agrarian Party of Russia" electoral association. Unity is our strength. I make no secret of the fact that some people have tried to shake it. Ivan Rybkin is paddling his own election canoe. That is his own choice. Evidently a presidential instruction should be drawn up on the subject of a "center-left bloc," supposedly to counteract Viktor Chernomyrdin's "center-right" bloc. It is the oblast committee third secretary syndrome, as somebody wittily noted: The first is the first, Chernomyrdin is the second, but there must also be a third — otherwise what sort of oblast committee is it?

We do not suffer from nomenklatura fever, that is why we have not started — according to the custom of people who in this particular way want to form a political threesome on a Russia-wide scale — banging our fist, saying: "Party card on the table!" On 5 September our congress, at which there were around 400 delegates from all of the country's 89 regions, including Chechnya, determined the 12 candidates for State Duma deputy according to the federation-wide list, and considered other questions. Initially it was our intention to muster only our own peasant forces under our association's banner: the aforementioned triumvirate plus the forestry and wood processing complexes, which are close to us — those who are associated with us and ensured the Agrarian Party of Russia's victory in the 1993 elections.

But during the faction's functioning in the State Duma and the increase in the party's size to approaching 300,000 people our program, ideas, and aspirations, which have become public property, have acquired a nationwide, national character. Another six trade unions have joined the "Agrarian Party of Russia" association — health care, chemical sector, automobile and tractor agricultural machine building, communications, and other trade unions.

We are especially pleased and proud that, in the year of the 50th anniversary of the Great Victory, after long reflections and deliberations the All-Russia Committee of War, Labor, Armed Forces, and Law Enforcement Organ Veterans is now with us as well. This is a powerful, widespread structure with a membership of close on 35 million people. The society for the blind provided us with up to a million.

We will be nominating candidates in all 225 districts, including Moscow, St. Petersburg, and other megalopolis cities. At the regional and local level we are ready to form a bloc with those whose program is close to ours, who have views common to ours on the current situation in the country, and who share our hopes for the future. First and foremost this means, of course, the communists.

Our colleagues from our own party do not need, as does Russian Government Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin, to invent facts to assert himself. Delivering a report on his cabinet's sociopolitical policy in the State Duma 19 July, he, like a young pathfinder armed with a telescope, sought out arguments not so much about transparent 1-percent growth as about the fact that, quote, the decline has decreased. I was one of the first to go onto the rostrum and compared this decline with the trajectory of a man who has fallen from the 16th floor and is hurtling to his death. Somewhere between the fourth and third floors he suddenly gets the joyful idea that he is flying slower toward the end than at the beginning. But the crash is still inevitable. Maybe we ought to have another look at which areas there is nowhere further to fall?

The "Russia Is Our Home" [NDR] bloc formed by Chernomyrdin on the president's orders is actually not a movement and not a party but a nomenklatura, elitist mutant. Moreover, one that is not altogether legitimate. An attempt has been made to combine the scheme of "Garden Ring parties", having moved the capital's borders to oblast centers, and the interests of fat-cat lone leaders. Neither left-wingers, nor right-wingers, nor the center will accept this. The cracks in this "home" were made by the very first election of a governor in Yekaterinburg, where NDR opponent Eduard Rossel won convincingly, and not the former oblast head Aleksey Strakhov, who has undertaken to head the NDR branch there.

Most of the Russian population already considers this association's executive committee to be something akin to a new Politburo, only even less skilled. They are promising to solve everything under the sun for all of us, but they are not taking responsibility for this. The only thing these people have managed to do is to borrow the opposition's slogans, which are becoming increasingly attractive to the people. But if NDR is to win the elections it must oppose itself and those who have assembled under its banners. One foot in the boat and one on the bank is an unstable and dangerous posture. Because right now even people far removed from politics are asking Chernomyrdin's team the question: Why are you striving for power in a new parliament if you cannot exercise the power that you already have?

Essentially it is a political Pushme-Pullyou — do you recall there was such a children's fairy tale character? One head faced forward and the other backward. Its legs also faced in different directions. This mutant is no use at all. It is the tactic of weak people who are counting not even on power, not on the force of power, but on the power of force. It is to their advantage that right before the elections new election blocs are now breeding like rabbits on the opposite flank of the political spectrum.

In this context the responsibility of leaders who are now peddling left-wing bloc mania among us is extremely great, and simply historically enormous. Maybe without realizing it, they are serving the cause of fragmenting the left-wing forces and are essentially fulfilling the role of a Trojan horse in their own camp.

Rutskoy Backed Despite Allegations

LD0909104295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1026 GMT 9 Sep 95

[By Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW September 9 (ITAR-TASS) — The Russian social patriotic group Derzhava met for its third congress in Moscow today.

The congress is shadowed by a row which flared within the group a few days ago when four of five deputies of Derzhava's leader Aleksandr Rutskoy accused him of staging "an anti-patriotic coup" within the group.

The deputies said that with Rutskoy at the helm, Derzhava degraded into a "social-criminal" movement of "new Russians".

In a sudden U-turn Rutskoy threw away the ideology adopted by Derzhava's founding congress and made the group an adjunct to dubious businesses with a criminal record, the four deputy leaders said before quitting Derzhava.

The former comrades-in-arms were especially harsh about Viktor Kobelev, a former member of Zhirinovskiy-led Liberal Democratic Party and now leader of patriotic movement Vozrozhdeniye Derzhavy and in fact promoter of Derzhava's pre-election campaign.

The breakaway leaders also said a number of Derzhava's federal-list candidates for the State Duma have direct ties with the underworld.

In an opening address to the congress Rutskoy bluntly denied the accusations, calling them libel and "a flow of mud".

He said Derzhava chose to recall its list of candidates from the Central Election Commission instead of responding to every tainting publication about Derzhava.

Derzhava intended to "sort things out" together with reporters, Rutskoy said.

Speakers at today's congress were unanimous in backing Rutskoy.

Shakhray Details PRES's Plans

LD0909164795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1332 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Sept 9 (INTERFAX) — The leader of the faction of the Party of Russia's Unity and Accord (PRES) in the State Duma, Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray did not rule out the possibility that the Russia Is Our Home (Nash Dom) movement and Ivan Rybkin's electoral bloc will not win the necessary number of votes at the elections in December.

"If they continue to work as they are doing now, they will be unable to overcome the 5-percent barrier," he told INTERFAX on Saturday.

The PRES political council recently took a decision to withdraw from Nash Dom, led by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

Shakhray did not confirm the assumption that the PRES may ally with the Russia's Transformation movement led by Sverdlovsk Region's governor Eduard Rossel. Shakhray said that Rossel and he "did not reach so far the stage of negotiations".

According to him, the PRES "cannot solely count on the alliance with one, even such famous region." Shakhray added that the PRES is prepared to cooperate with the governor's movement concerning the "separation" of their candidates to the Duma nominated at the majority districts.

Earlier in the interview with INTERFAX, Shakhray said that he is conducting consultations with Rossel concerning the creation of an electoral alliance, and added that "the consultations are at the initial stage and the alliance may be or may be not".

Saying that in its election program, the PRES will make emphasis on the development of economic independence of regions, Shakhray said that the party will closely cooperate "with the Union of Russian Cities, structures of the local self-government and other regional associations, and will thus create a distinctive electoral bloc which may have no juridical force."

Shakhray said that the PRES expects to win at the forthcoming elections 6-7% of votes on the federal list of candidates, and will make the "main emphasis" on the expected victory of its supporters nominated in one-mandate districts.

"Our sociology, regrettably, not so much reflects as forms the public opinion. In 1993 sociologists predicted a mere 1-2% of votes for us at the parliamentary elections, while the PRES won 7% of votes," said Shakhray.

Bloc of Independents' Tactics Viewed

MK0909092095 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 8 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by Gleb Cherkasov: "The Bloc of Independents Awaits 'Celebrities.' Meanwhile, Konstantin Borovoy Has Formed the First Trio"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yevgeniy Fedorov, a State Duma deputy, Ilya Roytman, cochairman of the United Democratic Center [UDC], and Vladimir Komchatov, the [Russian Federation] president's spokesman for Moscow, yesterday presented a new sociopolitical entity aspiring to representation in the sixth State Duma. The Bloc of Independents registered with the Central Electoral Commission on 5 September.

The basic difference between the Bloc of Independents and other blocs and electoral associations lies in the fact that its electoral lists will include candidates running only in single-seat constituencies. In addition, the list supposedly will lack its central portion, with the Independents being distributed among regional lists. Mr. Roytman believes that an electoral association based on these principles has a number of advantages over "traditional" electoral blocs: If the electoral bloc wins 5 percent of the votes, its 12 candidates (the central portion of the list, in fact) will join the Duma; if the Independents overcome the 5-percent barrier (of which the bloc is confident), the leaders of the 12 regional lists will make their way to the Duma. Ilya Roytman believes that this pattern will influence positively the electoral efforts of the regions. Mr. Roytman said that Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov and Investigator Telman Gdlyan would most likely run on the Bloc of Independents' slate. The UDC cochairman expects the "number of 'celebrities' to grow by the day." The Bloc of Independents' lists will be finalized in two weeks.

Also yesterday, the electoral lists of the Party of Economic Freedom were publicized. The champions of "economic freedom" are led by Konstantin Borovoy; Leonid Nekrasov, a State Duma deputy; and Colonel General Vladimir Kovalenok, a cosmonaut. Mr. Borovoy is counting on the votes of the cheated depositors.

Status of Duma Blocs Viewed

MM1309100695 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Batygin: "In 100 Days' Time"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The closer the elections the more active and unpleasant the parties and movements will be." That is how Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin described the present distribution of political forces at a press conference for Russian and foreign journalists.

There is indeed plenty of unpleasantness, mutual recriminations, and exposes during the election campaign. And that is understandable: The stake is a high one — a seat in the State Duma. One of the biggest scandals occurred in the "Derzhava" social-patriotic movement. Its leader, Aleksandr Rutskoy, was obliged to recall the lists of his candidates from the Central Electoral Commission and to schedule another congress to approve new lists. In the camp of the former vice president there is a split — eight members left the movement simultaneously. They include Colonel Viktor Aliskis, Mikhail Astafyev, president of the all-Russian national legal center, and Viktor Aksyuchits, leader of the Russian Christian Democrats.

The former fellow fighters and now splittists have accused the "Derzhava" leader of including on the federal list "dubious businessmen" including those with criminal pasts and of turning the movement itself into a "social-criminal" one.

"New Russians" made up a quarter of the candidates nominated by "Derzhava." Of itself the fact gives no grounds for accusations but several specific names were the reason for the "mutiny." For instance, the name of Nikolay Novikov, president of the Tula "Atlet" sports club, who, the local "Derzhava" branch believes, is linked with criminal business. And although Rutskoy has categorically denied the accusations, the leader of the movement had to carry out an additional check on his ranks so that no one could accuse the retired general of attempting to push through dubious figures into the legislative organ. Rutskoy said at the congress that there were no criminals on the lists.

"Derzhava" despite tangible losses counts on getting 10 percent of the votes.

The election marathon is reaching the halfway mark and passions are not abating. The parties and movements are merging, dividing into "twos" and "threes," making themselves available, seeking allies. The leaders of the blocs and their emissaries and couriers of the most diverse ranks are traveling — most often on the Garden Ring, less frequently through the cities and villages — performing vigorous campaigning work to recruit fresh forces. Each person is doing what he can. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy was honored with a "night of romance" with the notorious porno star La Cicciolina.

Last weekend the Russian Democratic Reforms Movement [RDRM] held its last congress before the final spurt. The intends to create a bloc by uniting with three social-democratic parties: Lipitskiy's party, the Golov-Obolenskiy party, and the young social-democrats. "We can promise voters one thing for sure," Gavriil Popov, the movement's leader, said at the congress. "The working people's interests will be constantly defended."

Of course, today you can promise voters anything you like. That is particularly true of G. Popov. Especially as the power of the RDRM's propaganda charges is now obviously spent. Since the death of Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov the movement has lost its former authority. And although G. Popov has noted that the RDRM has 60 regional centers his fellow fighters are hardly destined to get into parliament.

Actually we shall not be as categorical as the "general secretary" of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRES], Sergey Shakhray, who has calculatedly attracted attention since leaving the "Russia Is Our Home" bloc, and has publicly doubted that "Russia Is Our Home" and Ivan Rybkin's piecemeal bloc will win the December elections. In the opinion of the PRES leader the two will not overcome the 5 percent barrier. Our opinion is that for all the blunders which neither Viktor Chernomyrdin nor the Duma speaker has managed to avoid, it is hard to believe that.

Sergey Mikhaylovich himself has denied the suggestions "voiced" in a number of mass media regarding a possible union between PRES and the "Russia's Transformation" movement headed by Sverdlovsk Oblast Governor Eduard Rossel.

Among the numerous election blocs the movement in support of independent candidates stands apart. Its federal list includes only those candidates who are running for the territorial districts. The central part and federal list leaders are absent. One initiator in the creation of the deputies' bloc, Yevgeniy Fedorov, believes that the bloc will be able to alter the distribution of forces in the new Duma. At present, as we know, all key posts in it are distributed among representatives of powerful factions and independent deputies have now opportunity of influencing its decisions. So the idea arose of creating a faction of independent deputies. There will be at least 100 of them in the new Duma.

Today the bloc has been joined by 100 territorial candidates — they will run independently for first-past-the-post districts. Each is known regionally and has funds and support teams. In all it is planned to unite 270 independent candidates in the bloc and about 20 public organizations.

The central electoral list of a new electoral bloc, "Trade Unions and Industrialists of Russia-Union of Labor," has been headed by Vladimir Shcherbakov, chairman of the Russian United Industrial Party, Mikhail Shmakov, leader of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, and Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs.

Representatives of the "intransigent opposition" who for various reasons have not joined existing electoral associations have announced the creation of the "Union of Patriots" bloc. It has been joined by about 20 organizations among which the largest are the Russian National Assembly (Sterligov), the all-Russia Officers' Assembly (Achalov), and the Association of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs (Tiyazkov).

The "Union of Patriots" is sharply opposed to the present government and regards as its main adversary at the elections the entire democratic camp at whose head Aleksandr Sterligov places the "Russia Is Our Home" movement. The "Union of Patriots" election platform basically differs little from the documents of other opposition associations.

The "Union of Patriots" is prepared to cooperate with the Communists, Agrarian Party members, and other "patriotic forces." But there is obviously no pleasant prospect of a union with A. Rutskoy's "Derzhava." At the congress in the "Izmaylovo" hotel complex all delegates and guests received a fresh issue of Sterligov's "RUSSKIY SOBOR with a long article entitled "What 'Derzhava' ['Power'] Does Rutskoy Plan?" In the article the "Derzhava" leader is unambiguously accused of... insufficient "Russianness" and of supporting antinational private capital.

...There are still 100 days to 17 December. Just 100 days.

Yeltsin Edict on Federal Railroad Troop Service

MM1209132295 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Sep 95 p 4

[Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin's edict No. 903 "On Russian Federation Federal Railroads Troop Service;" signed in Moscow on 7 September]

[FBIS Translated Text] In accordance with the Federal law "on the Russian Federation Railroad Troops" I decree:

1. That the Russian Federation Ministry of Railroads Federal Railroad Troops Directorate be reorganized as the Russian Federation Federal Railroad Troops Service (FSZhV of Russia).

That it be established that the Russian Federation Federal Railroad Troops Service is a federal organ of executive power.

That the Russian Federation Federal Railroad Troops Service be regarded as the legal heir to the Russian Federation Ministry of Railroads Federal Railroad Troops Directorate.

2. That Colonel General Grigoriy Iosifovich Kogatko be appointed director of the Russian Federation Federal Railroad Troops Service and commander of the Russian Federation Railroad Troops, relieving him of the post he holds at present.

That the Russian Federation Federal Railroad Troops Service be allowed to have seven deputy directors, two of them first deputy directors.

3. That the Russian Federation Government:

— submit within three months for approval by the Russian Federation president a draft statute on the Russian Federation Federal Railroad Troops Service;

— resolve within the established procedure financial, material-technical, and other questions connected with the creation of the Russian Federation Federal Railroad Troops Service;

— prepare proposals on the introduction to Russian Federation legislation of changes and additions stemming from the Federal law "on the Russian Federation Railroad Troops" and bring the Russian Federation Government decisions into line with this law and this edict.

4. That changes be made to the Russian Federation president's 10 January 1994 edict no. 66 "on the structure of the federal organs of executive power" (collected acts of the Russian Federation president and government 1994 no. 3 p 190), adding to point 2 of section 11 of the structure of federal organs of executive power approved by this edict the words: "Russian Federation Federal Railroad Troops Service (FSZhV of Russia)."

5. That the Russian Federation president's 18 April 1992 edict no. 392 "on the Russian Federation Railroad troops" (records of the Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Court 1992 no. 18 p 1003) be deemed to have lost its force.

6. That this edict enters into force on the day it is signed.

[Signed] Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin

[Dated] Moscow, Kremlin, 7 September 1995

Government Decree on Food for Armed Forces

MM1209130395 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Sep 95 p 4

[Russian Federation Government decree No. 902 "On the Russian Federation President's Draft edict 'On Urgent Measures To Provide Food for the Russian Federation Armed Forces Servicemen'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 6 September 1995 — In accordance with the Russian Federation President's 28 February 1995 edict no. 226 "on measures to reinforce financial discipline in executing the federal budget" the Russian Federation Government decrees:

That the Russian Federation Defense Ministry's proposal coordinated with the Russian Federation Ministry of Finances on urgent measures to provide food for the Russian Federation Armed Forces servicemen be approved.

That the draft edict on this issue be submitted for examination by the Russian Federation president.

[Signed] V. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Government

Military Issues

Topol Missile Tests 'Exceeded All Expectations'

MM1209141095 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Sep 95 p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Dolinin: "Topol M2: Second Launch"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As has already been reported, design flight tests of the single-warhead three-stage solid-fuel Topol M2 (RS-12M2) missile developed by the Moscow Thermal Equipment Institute under the leadership of General Designer Boris Lagutin were held 5 September at the state test range at Mirnyy, Arkhangelsk Oblast.

The first tests, held last December, and the current tests have both exceeded all expectations.

Meticulous historians have calculated that throughout the 35-year history of the Strategic Missile Forces, more than 1,000 training missiles have been launched from Baykonur, Kapustin Yar, and Plesetsk for design flight tests. Despite this, not all missile troops have been able to take part in real launches during their careers. "Dry run" launches of the "items" — as missile troops call their weapons — are carried out on missile simulators during exercises and training sessions. And they are effective too.

But even for the "lucky ones" such as Colonel Vladimir Dmitriyenko, a Missile Forces veteran who is still a serving officer and who has seen more than 300 launches, each one is an event. All the more so now that only a few missiles a year are launched from the Plesetsk Test Range (at Mirnyy) into polar orbit. This is to check their reliability, and inculcate practical habits into the members of details preparing to go on combat standby duty with the new equipment.

The launch of the second Topol M2, which is designed to be silo-based, is an optimistic fact in our current life. Specialists at the state test range under the leadership of Lieutenant General Yuriy Zhuravlev prepared for the launch as if it were a holiday. It required some hard work. It was all the more pleasant to hear words of gratitude for a job well done. First Deputy Defense Minister Andrey Kokoshin presented the outstanding testers and crewmen with the combat and service details with watches as a memento.

The success of the launch was largely predetermined by the clear-cut actions of Colonels Nikolay Pirozhenko and Nikolay Kretinin — highly experienced specialists and real experts in their field — and by their subordinates.

"The Russian Topol," Colonel General Igor Sergeyev, commander in chief of the Strategic Missile Forces, stressed, "suits the Strategic Missile Forces not only in terms of its performance characteristics. Under present-day conditions it is also appropriate for Russian taxpayers." Its production will require significantly less spending that certain other types of missile. So will the operation of modernized missiles.

Incidentally, even this priority national program has by no means been fully financed either last year or this year. Of course, this is abnormal. Industrialists, designers, construction workers, and missile troops themselves are working without having received their salaries and wages for months, but everyone realizes how important the Topol is to Russia. People believe that their work will nonetheless be worth it.

The Topol M is a unique missile. Apart from anything else its tactical and technical performance corresponds to all the restrictive parameters of the Russo-U.S. strategic offensive arms reduction treaties.

Federal Assembly

Daily Reviews 'Explosive' Special Duma Session

MM1209123995 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Sep 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by Valentin Chikin: "More Magnanimity! Help the Serb as He Lies Silently Bleeding...."]

[FBIS Translated Text] It would be very unfair if the impressions from Saturday's explosive State Duma session convened urgently to discuss the critical situation in the Balkans were to be overshadowed by picturesque television pictures of the fight between the "monarchist and the antichrist." In actual fact the continuous five-hour Duma session was as a whole fruitful and the explanations regarding the thrust of the Russian authorities' present foreign policy course were exhaustively frank. I should like to begin with the brief but highly symbolic speech by Stanislav Govorukhin, although it was heard at the height of the debate.

S.S. Govorukhin: "Well, to save time let us say that we are in full solidarity with the businesslike proposals set out here by Gennadiy Andreyevich Zyuganov, a Communist and our only ally in the struggle against the turncoat Communists. So my speech will be very brief, it has even been written down.

"...And here is another thing you must not forget when you are thinking about Serbia. In Serbia we are loved with an ardent, sincere, almost tender love. Anyone can try to travel across its blood-covered fields and cities now and it will seem to you that you are a sovereign prince, a prophet, a very angel of god, such is the love and respect with which these tormented people surround you.

"They will place their last carpet under your Russian feet, remove the last piece of bread from their hungry lips, and with the divine generosity of the poor invite you — a precious guest from their dear Russia.

"In praying to god whom do they mention in their prayers before their own children? Russia. In waiting for thousands of years for the sun, in which direction do their crucifixes look? Where do the mothers of brutalized children direct their tears and sighs? To where the golden domes of the Moscow Kremlin shine in the sky beyond the dark blue fog. In general we are loved and respected so little. Barbarians, Barbarians...! You should be sent beyond the Urals.... All the more should we treasure this tender and trusting love. It is a guarantee not only of Serbian revival but also of our own revival.

"Increase your love, increase it! If other peoples are struggling for world rule, for pieces of land and sea, then we still have to win respect. Increase your love, increase your generosity, increase your magnanimity! Help the Serb as he lies silently bleeding...."

After a small pause Stanislav Sergeyevich declared: "These words were written 80 years ago by the great Russian writer Leonid Andreyev." (The reader must forgive us — the quotation from this classic writer is reproduced in abridged form). So that in the debate, and it was a principled debate, and not only about Kozyrev's policy of leaning completely to the West but also about the traditional Orthodox Russian thinking, about the socialist model for the peoples' communal living, and about "the new world order." Govorukhin's brief commentary on Leonid Andreyev's words was as follows:

"Yes, this question is a guarantee not only of Serb revival but also of our revival because it is a case in general of halting the practice and policy of betrayal. We are betraying everyone every second: The Dniester Region, which is drawn to us and loves us and is extending its hands to Russia, Abkhazia, the Russian-speaking population in Chechnya.... Every second we are betraying them because we have a new order. Mutants are people without a motherland, without roots, without a historical memory....

Actually, the subject of their dispute was not the NATO bombs bear Sarajevo — all the deputies insisted on an immediate end to the bomb strikes. And it was not even the Bosnian crisis itself — they all agreed that it should be resolved by political means. The deputies' difference of opinion was caused by the conflicting assessments of the actual origin of the conflict and the motives for the forces of world order drawn into the political theater in the Balkans. The United Nations, the United States, NATO, Germany, Russia, the Serbs, the Croats, the Muslims.

No one even tried to defend Kozyrev and his spineless diplomacy. Neither the government, which was conspicuously absent. Nor the Foreign Ministry officials, who withdrew at the first opportunity. Nor committee chairman Lukin, who has recently constantly been hinting at differences with the minister. Nor human rights campaigner Kovalev, who is also being defiant with his disagreements with Kozyrev.... Directly or covertly they defended the West's interests in the Balkans and its right to pass sentence on peoples that have fallen out of favor and to prescribe rules of conduct for everyone.

On behalf of "Russia's Choice" only the following approach is defended: The West oppresses the Croats and Muslims with a friendly smile and brings down bombs on the Serbs' heads while Russia oppresses its fellow believers in an attempt to break the Serbian recalcitrance.... Those are the rules recognized by pro-Western advocates. For greater conviction Kovalev stressed in his faction's statement: "At the same time we are against using the prevailing situation to fuel anti-Western hysteria in our country." You hear, you Russians! Do not dare to express your feelings to the punitive troops for their lynch law against your brothers. The word "hysteria" has been issued in advance like a defamatory label although it is clear to everyone that this is not a Russian type of self-expression. Hysteria is being promoted by those who stage a provocative explosion in a crowded market and immediately give themselves the right to bomb everything in succession: defense positions, residential quarters, hospitals....

It is these subjects which have given rise to stormy protest. From the Duma platform many factions' representatives formulated the real geopolitical reasons for the Bosnian conflict, linking it directly with a threat to our country.

A. Puzanovskiy, speaking on behalf of the Agrarian Party faction members, began with this: The massive bomb strikes and the massive use of NATO infrastructures on the southern flank have issued an overt challenge to Russia. A challenge all the more cynical in that over recent years they had seemingly been trying to persuade Russia to become a partner for peace in Europe."

Objecting to V. Lukin, who is inclined to explain what is happening by causes in remote history and by Tito's failed experiments, A. Puzanovskiy noted that today we are standing on the fragments of the Gorbachev-Shevardnadze course which was called "the new political thinking:" Today we are tasting the fruit of the Belovezhskaya Forest agreements which destroyed the country and reduced defense efforts to nothing. Initially they declared the worldwide bogey to be communism, which was allegedly preventing Western civilization from developing....

"Today," A. Puzanovskiy noted, "we can see that instead of the policy of casting back communism, which was successfully implemented and ended in the well-known events to abolish the Warsaw Pact and the CEMA system and so forth, today there is an overt and cynical casting back of the interests of Russia itself from the borders of Europe, on all political avenues. Can this be ignored? I ask you Russians: At which borders will this casting back stop? And do we intend to say 'no' to this policy? The Balkans are for us the last frontier on which we must stand and say that there will be no further progress and development for the policy of casting back Russia!"

G. Zyuganov, leader of the Communists' faction, formulated his idea very specifically and clearly:

"There is a repartition of the world — the third and most real repartition. Initially it descended on us with ideological sabotage, then with the complete paralysis of the economy and finances. And now it is being resolved by NATO and U.S. troops using bomb strikes...."

Recalling the letter published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA recently from John Rents [surname as transliterated], chairman of the U.S. committee of Buchenwald prisoners, entitled "Serbs, Jews, and Bosnia," he drew attention to the cynical toughness of today's "civilizers." The American Rents is right: "Hitler bombed the Serbs for their persistent resistance and our president and NATO are following the same path." And the Western human rights champions are remaining silent.

Ye. Lakhova, leader of the "Women of Russia" faction, devoted her speech to an analysis of a whole series of gross errors of Russian diplomacy.

"These errors include the hasty recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina, support for the UN resolution on sanctions against Yugoslavia, and excessive support for the international peace plan for Bosnia known as the Vance-Owen plan. And moist importantly the agreement to transfer to the NATO military command an important UN Security Council prerogative like the right to decide to use military force in Bosnia. It was this short-sighted step which removed Russia from the ranks of the great powers determining the actions of the world community in the Balkans. It lost the opportunity to use its right of veto, which it has in the Security Council as one of its permanent members. Delegating the Security Council's powers to the NATO military command automatically increased the clout of the United States and its allies to Russia's detriment. This delegating led to NATO being drawn into the fighting as a force fighting on one side.... An extremely dangerous precedent has arisen for NATO intervention with UN authorization in internal conflicts and civil wars...."

Deputy A. Dzasokhov voiced serious reproaches against the United Nations. he stressed that "there are every grounds for expressing not only disquiet but perhaps even protest and perhaps even condemnation with regard to the fact that what is happening is essentially the NATO-ization of the main center of the international community." He called for this to lead to an examination of the entire complex of mutual relations between the United Nations and NATO.

"On 20 October this year discussions will begin in New York at the level of heads of state," A. Dzasokhov noted. "Is that not an opportunity for Russia, with its moral and historical right, to state its positions regarding reforms in this international movement?"

And even Yu. Voyevodin, representing the "Stability" deputies' group, voiced solidarity not only with some of the radical proposals of both Zyuganov and Zhirinovskiy but also with the tough criticism of the present authorities. "I join those who believe that the failure of Russian foreign policy in the Balkans is obvious enough," he said.

There were indeed many suggestions and each more drastic than the last: from withdrawal from the United Nations to calls to form detachments of volunteers to help the Serbs, from the refusal to cooperate with NATO within the "partnership for peace" program to putting Minister Kozyrev on trial.... The consolidated documents adopted at the end — the Duma statement and decree — looked far more modest and balanced. But their denunciatory tone with regard to the punitive troops, their civic emotion and the deputies' desire to influence the situation in an active and specific way and the rejection of Russia's present foreign policy course, the demand for Kozyrev's resignation — all this angered the authors and executors of the bloody events in the Balkans and the defenders of this policy in the Duma. And although each of those who voted realized that it is a long way from the present Duma decisions to real implementation, nonetheless there was a feeling that the delegates had not met for nothing.

But it was for nothing, for absolutely nothing, that a serious political matter was soiled by a stupid brawl. For two days now radio and television wasps have been buzzing in the air and all this time the brawlers have been taking pleasure in showing off their bruises and phrases heard in the melee. Speaker Rybkin, who had reasoned with the scandal-mongers at the session in an effort to appease them, was obliged to turn to the General Prosecutor's Office "requesting instructions for investigating the actions of Deputies Nikolay Lysenko and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy with regard to Deputies Gleb Yakunin and Yevgeniya Tishkovskaya." And the wasps are buzzing: What kind of a parliament is this? How can anything serious be resolved there? Forgive me, it is not a question of parliament — you can see such excesses everywhere: in Japan, in Taiwan, in Italy. It is a case of those who like powerful sensations and malicious acts of provocation, those who, as the wise Viktor Rozov put it, like to set up a free for all. Essentially the same troublemakers they even strangle each other with a sadistic smile. Let us bring in a supervisor for them. Or just issue a "yellow card" for the next elections.

...At least prevent this disgraceful incident from overshadowing the burning essence of the human problems which parliamentarians are experiencing with their minds and hearts.

Duma Delays Consideration of Statute on Budget Law

MK1209123695 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 12 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by Svetlana Lolayeva: "The State Duma Refused To Discuss the Procedure for Consideration of the 1996 Budget. The Balkan Situation Has Cooled Deputies' Interest in the Budgetary Process"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Saturday [9 September], at an extraordinary plenary session of the State Duma, deputies — heated over the discussion of the Yugoslav issue — refused to put on the agenda the statute of the procedure for consideration of the draft federal law "On the 1996 Federal Budget" and its adoption by the State Duma. The statute — which expands on the law "On the Procedure for Consideration and Approval of the 1996 Federal Budget," passed by the State Duma in July and later approved by the Federation Council and the president — establishes the procedure and time limits (setting specific dates) for having the budget prepared and considered in three readings. Since the budget should be adopted within a very limited period of time (in accordance with the statute, the first reading is scheduled for 11 October), the Budget Committee decided to submit the procedure for consideration of the budget to the agenda of not the first plenary session after the [parliamentary] holidays, but of the extraordinary meeting of the State Duma.

These plans, however, were ruined by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, head of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] faction. Having called the draft 1996 budget "the present government's last political and financial act of sabotage," he said that the cabinet will first have to report on the 1995 budget, and it will be the next State Duma that will deal with the 1996 budget. "Let the Finance Ministry tell us where money for school textbooks and feeding soldiers has gone," the LDPR leader shouted. Mr. Zhirinovskiy expressed even greater concern over the budget's debt to the State Duma — in particular, the 500 million rubles owed to the LDPR faction. The most weighty argument of the LDPR leader was the premise that while deputies will be visiting their constituencies during the election campaign, "state money will be stolen" under the pretext of passing the budget. Neither Speaker Ivan Rybkin's warning that deputies who focus on their election campaign instead of being engaged in legislative activity will simply be barred from the election, nor Mikhail Zadornov's [chairman of the State Duma Budget Committee] exhortation that, if the parliament refuses to pass the budget, it will lose its supervisory function with respect to the government's activity, could satisfy the people's choices. Therefore, it was decided to get back to the issue of the procedure for consideration and adoption of the 1996 budget at the first plenary session of the Duma on 5 October.

Mikhail Zadornov, chairman of the Budget Committee, told your SEGODNYA correspondent that, despite the fact that the statute was not approved, the working group on preparation of the draft budget for consideration by the State Duma will work as scheduled. He did not rule out, however, that the delay in having the statute approved could lead to shifting the time assigned for having the budget considered. If the conclusions of the factions and committees are not ready by 4 October, as scheduled, the first reading will probably take place not on 11 October, but a bit later.

Rybkin: Parliament-President Ties Need Improving

LD1209161795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1340 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Sept 12 (Interfax) — According to State Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin, parliament should oppose all kinds of authoritarian rules.

In answering questions asked by numerous Russian regional media transmitted by Interfax Rybkin expressed confidence that the Russian Fundamental Law will be amended because the bank of amendments in the State Duma Legislation and Judicial-Legal Reform Committee is, to use his description, convincing.

"We asked the Constitutional Court what the mechanism for amending the Constitution should be. We have had no answer but hope to have one in the fall. Then the president-parliament relationship will be optimized," he said.

Rybkin believes that the power of parliament in Russia is significantly below European standards.

He added that relations between the president, government, parliament, judicial authorities and the country's internal republics and regions leave much to be desired.

Rybkin complained that the State Duma is unduly politicized and that he had found it hard to have it do its law making job. He hopes that the present State Duma which will remain in session until December 22 will bear this in mind.

The next State Duma will take over from the present one from December 22, 1995 to January 16, 1996.

Filatov: Leftist Forces Gaining Strength in Duma

LD1209173695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1631 GMT 12 Sep 95

[By Tamara Zamyatina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, September 12 (Itar-Tass) — "There is a danger that the left-wing representation will strengthen considerably in the State Duma of the new convocation," Sergey Filatov, chief of staff of the presidential administration, said in an interview with Itar-Tass on Tuesday.

Relying on the data of the analytical agency of the presidential administration, Filatov said that the majority in the future Duma may be constituted of the blocs and parties of left-wing orientation, such as Communists, Agrarians and members of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's party.

Asked by Itar-Tass why President Boris Yeltsin said that "Our Home is Russia" movement lead by Viktor Chernomyrdin has equal chances with pro-communist parties, Filatov, apparently going by the data of sociological polls, said "one cannot overlook reality."

According to the sociological survey on which Yeltsin apparently relied in his forecast for elections to the State Duma, election blocs which are certain of the votes of more than five percent of respondents are Yabloko, the Communist Party and the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia]. From four to five percent of the poll can be collected by "Our Home is Russia," the Congress of Russian Communities lead by Skokov and Lebed, Svyatoslav Fedorov's Party of Self-Government of the Working People and "Women of Russia."

"The forecast made with three months to go before the elections is certainly not very reliable, but the president assessing the situation apparently proceeded from that survey," Filatov said. Asked how the presidential administration is going to oppose the left forces' onslaught, Filatov said "we must work."

The chief of staff of the presidential administration still hopes that the democratic bloc lead by Yegor Gaydar will gradually regain its positions as "it has the support of voters favouring reform."

Filatov spoke highly of the news conference given by the president before leaving on vacation. "We saw Yeltsin as he was in 1991," Filatov said. He added that the president's outspoken talk with journalists will raise his rating. Yeltsin's conduct during the news conference and Viktor Chernomyrdin's communication with the puppet picturing him, shown on independent television, NTV, is, in Filatov's opinion, an example of openness which people like.

Asked by Itar-Tass what is behind the rumours of Filatov's possible resignation, Filatov said that journalists, apparently, make such forecasts for the reason that Filatov no longer has bodyguards. This is the outcome of Filatov's long-standing conflicts with the presidential Security Service and Russia's Main Guards Directorate. But then there is no law that chief of the presidential administration should have guards. Filatov said that his communication with Yeltsin before the president left for vacation gave him no reason to think of his imminent dismissal.

Regional Affairs

Reportage on Chechen Negotiations, Arms, Politics

Russians, Chechens Resume Talks

LD1209170895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1603 GMT 12 Sep 95

[By Sharip Asuyev and Valentin Pavlov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, September 12 (ITAR-TASS) — The Russian and Chechen delegations met in Groznyy today for the second consultative meeting since the signing of the July 30 military accord.

Russian senior negotiator Vyacheslav Mikhaylov told ITAR-TASS that co-chairmen of the Russian-Chechen commission overseeing the military accord recounted the progress of its implementation.

"A number of differences of principle have emerged, but the mutual view is: there is the need for a rigorous timetable of (Chechen) disarmament under this agreement," Mikhaylov said.

According to the Russian chief negotiator, the result of the military accord was so far nil.

Rebel formations which are led by field commanders had not started to lay down their arms, Mikhaylov said.

Chechen senior negotiator Khozh-Akhmed Yarikhanov placed the blame for the stuck political round of the negotiations on the Russian side.

He said the Chechen delegation did not insist on continuing the political negotiations. He said this part of negotiations was still ahead.

Yarikhanov did not confirm reports that the Chechen delegation to the Groznyy talks was formally invited to attend, together with political parties and public groups, a round-table discussion on a peaceful settlement in Chechnya.

Consultations on military issues are to be continued in Groznyy on Wednesday.

Lobov To Inform Yeltsin of Situation

LD1309093395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0909 GMT 13 Sep 95

[By Irina Shchegoleva]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] SOCHI, September 13 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian president's plenipotentiary representative in Chechnya Oleg Lobov told reporters before his departure from Groznyy for Sochi for a meeting with President Boris Yeltsin on Wednesday that he intends to express an idea to the president on forming military-construction detachments, units of railway troops as well as civil defence troops in Chechnya from among young people of conscription age, that is those arms and services which can actively participate in restoration work.

The Russian leader is now on an annual leave in the Black Sea resort city of Sochi, combining work and rest.

Lobov who is also secretary of the powerful Russian Security Council, will describe present-day developments in the republic to the Russian chief executive.

He told reporters before his departure from the Chechen capital for Sochi that federal authorities will do their best for all the Chechen population have shelter during wintertime.

According to the plenipotentiary representative, rates of restoration work in the Chechen republic are picking up steam. This was promoted by a working trip to Groznyy of Russian Finance Minister Vladimir Panskov undertaken on Tuesday.

"I intend to report the president now that we have found funds to finance restoration work," he noted.

The Ministry for Emergencies will also build temporary housing, Lobov continued. "Under a recent presidential decree, we are preparing to pay compensations, and this mechanism will be ready in two or three weeks' time."

As for industry, the plenipotentiary said that "it is necessary to urgently compile a programme for its restoration and to look for sources of financing".

Lobov on Chechnya, Disarmament

LD1309102795 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0850 GMT 13 Sep 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentin Pavlov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Groznyy, 13 Sep (ITAR-TASS) — The progress of the disarmament process in the Chechen Republic is currently unsatisfactory and "those who promised a quick disarmament overestimated their strengths and possibilities," Oleg Lobov, the Russian president's plenipotentiary representative in Chechnya, told journalists today before flying out of Groznyy for Sochi. Lobov intends to discuss the situation in Chechnya with Boris Yeltsin in the resort where the president is vacationing. Lobov believes that clearly "new approaches are needed" on disarmament. "All the interested parties," he added, "should be consulted" about these.

Oleg Lobov belives the number of attacks on federal forces in Chechnya has fallen in recent days. He emphasized that "if this is not the lull before the storm, then it could be seen as a positive aspect of the process now under way in the Chechen Republic." I also, Lobov said, hope a government resolution on implementing the package of military issues in Chechnya will be signed" in the next few days [quotation marks as received].

Speaking on the rate of restoration work in Chechnya, Lobov stressed that it would now be accelerated. It has been assisted by the working visit to Groznyy on 12 September by Finance Minister Vladimir Panskov and now, Lobov said, "I intend to report to the president that we have succeeded in above all sorting out the funding of the restoration work." Everything possible will be done to make sure that the whole population of Chechnya has shelter for the winter, he stressed. To this end "we will be obliged to make use of the resources of the Emergencies Ministry," Oleg Lobov said.

According to Lobov, temporary housing will also be built. In accordance with a recent edict of the president, we are preparing to pay out compensation, and "this mechanism will be developed in two to three weeks' time," Lobov added. As for industry, then, according to Lobov, "we need urgently to put together a program for its restoration and to look for financing."

Another proposal by Lobov is to recruit local young people in the republic into military construction detachments, subunits of railway troops, and civil defense forces — the kind of troop units that could play an active part in the restoration work.

"I am optimistic about the future," Oleg Lobov said, commenting on the first stage of his work in Chechnya as plenipotentiary representative of the Russian president.

After today's meeting with the Russian president in Sochi, Oleg Lobov, who is also secretary of the Russian Security Council, intends to attend a session of the government commission on restoring the national economy of the Chechen Republic on 14 September along with First Deputy Premier Oleg Soskovets.

Oleg Lobov intends to return to Groznyy no later than 18 September.

Further Comments by Lobov

LD1209193195

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow NTV in Russian at 1500 GMT on 12 September in its "Segodnya" newscast, correspondent Sergey Gaponov broadcasts a three and a half minute report from Groznyy on the situation in Chechnya: "Chechens on Dudayev's side surrender their weapons with one hand and take them back with the other, not as fighters but as soldiers of the legal self-defense detachments. As for Russian soldiers, they simply do not have the money to buy weapons from people who do not need machine-guns, but who at one time paid hard-earned money for them. The number of Dudayev's men who do not want to surrender weapons at all, and there are quite a few of them, is a sign that the end of the war is a long way off."

Oleg Lobov, the Russian president's representative in Chechnya, gave an exclusive interview to NTV, Gaponov reports. Speaking in an office, Lobov says: "Laws apply that are recorded in any state's Constitution or in legislation on national security, but there is no state that would give someone who takes a weapon the right not to surrender it. He has the right not to surrender but he will be pursued according to the law, you understand. You know the laws. They must of course be treated according to the laws."

Delegates View 'Roundtable' Proposal

LD1309134195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1325 GMT 13 Sep 95

[By Valentine Pavlov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, September 13 (ITAR-TASS) — Heads of the Russian and Chechen delegations to peace talks on Chechen settlement, Vyacheslav Mikhaylov and Hozh-Akhmed Yarikhanov, have met today to discuss an initiative to hold "round-table" discussions attended by representatives of all public and political forces of Chechnya.

Taking part in the talks are co-chairmen of an observer commission monitoring the fulfillment of a military accord, field commanders and representatives from a Territorial Department of federal executive bodies of power in Chechnya.

Head of the Russian delegation Vyacheslav Mikhaylov told ITAR-TASS that the round-table discussions would help the sides coordinate their positions for the solution of cardinal problems: disarmament, free elections, restoration of Chechnya's economy, a return of refugees and forcibly resettled people to their homes, including the Russian-speaking population and Cossacks.

Mikhaylov pointed out that the process of the implementation of a military accord had practically come to a standstill. He said that in the first stage, they had planned to carry out a disarmament of illegal armed formations followed by the surrender of weapons by the population for a compensation, while in fact, "everything had been going on head over heels." In conclusion, Mikhaylov said that although the talks had not yielded practical results yet, the sides seem to have reached mutual understanding."

Deadline For Arms Surrender Agreed Upon

LD1309140795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1355 GMT 13 Sep 95

[By Valentin Pavlov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, September 13 (ITAR-TASS) — Russia and Chechnya reached an agreement on Wednesday obligating Chechen militants to surrender their heavy guns by September 20.

The agreement was reached at the ongoing peace talks at the headquarters of the mission of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Groznyy. The amount of heavy guns to be handed over was not specified.

The question of self-defence units once again caused disagreements. The Russian delegation suggested establishing them in places where law enforcement bodies will not be formed.

However, the Chechen side insists that such units be set up in all towns and villages.

Mikhaylov: Disarmament Not 'In Earnest'

LD1209205195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1840 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Sept 12 (INTERFAX) — The disarmament of illegal armed formations in Chechnya has not begun in earnest yet, the chief Russian delegate at the talks on a settlement in Chechnya, Nationalities Minister Vyacheslav Mikhaylov has said. He was speaking in Groznyy on Tuesday after another round of talks with Dudayev's representatives on the military package of agreements.

Mikhailov said that so far disarmament had little effect and weapons were being handed in by individual citizens.

"No more than 13 hundred pieces of firearms have been surrendered voluntarily", Mikhailov said.

"At the same time the chief Russian delegate said that both sides had agreed the disarmament schedule must be strictly observed", Mikhailov said.

There will be more consultations on the military set of issues on September 13.

Romanov: Disarmament Figures 'Fake'

LD1209192795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1907 GMT 12 Sep 95

[By Sharip Asuyev and Valentin Pavlov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, September 12 (ITAR-TASS) — Commander of federal troops in Chechnya Lieutenant-General Anatoliy Romanov described as fake disarmament the figures on the operational map provided to the Russians by Chechen top commander Aslan Maskhadov.

Maskhadov, who is co-chairman of the joint Russian-Chechen commission overseeing the July 30 military agreement, turned over a map indicating locations of rebel units and their stocks of arms.

The map reads that Chechen fighters have 2,021 Kalashnikov rifles, 74 Kalashnikov machine-guns, 109 anti-tank grenades, 16 grenade launching stations, two anti-rocket guided missiles, five Grad multiple launchers, two T-72 tanks, one anti-aircraft guided missile launcher, four mortars and three sniper rifles.

Romanov said these figures were totally untrue and stressed in his talk with Maskhadov that rebels had not surrender even the paltry amount of weapons reported on the map.

The timetable of the withdrawal of Russian troops from Chechnya remains suspended because the July 30 military agreement envisions its being tailored to real disarmament of Chechen fighters, Romanov said.

Troops Withdrawn From Assinovskaya

LD1309115795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1142 GMT 13 Sep 95

[By Valentin Pavlov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY September 13 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian Interior troops, which included a rifle division and brigade, were completely withdrawn from the settlement of Assinovskaya, 35 kilometres west of Groznyy, according to Russian military commander in the rebel republic Anatoliy Romanov.

He told reporters Wednesday that the troops are staying at present in the town of Beslan in North Ossetia from where they will be sent by railway to the places of permanent dislocation.

Pro-Dudayev Rallies 'Must Be Stopped'

LD1309124395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1038 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Sept 13 (INTERFAX) — Unauthorized rallies organized in different parts of Chechnya by "pro-Dudayev groups and envoys of Dzhokhar Dudayev" must be stopped and their organizers held responsible in keeping with law, Deputy Secretary of the Russian Security Council Colonel-General Valeriy Manilov told the press in Groznyy Tuesday evening.

"Organizers of such rallies will be held responsible under three articles of the Russian Criminal Code: for disrupting public order, for promoting national enmity and calls for overthrowing the government by force", he said.

The general said there is proof that people are paid for joining such gatherings.

"According to some sources, participants get 100,000 rubles on average, $40-50 in certain places, sometimes even for one hour of participation," Manilov claimed.

Khadzhiyev Favors Elections This Year

LD1209161895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1348 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Sept 12 (INTERFAX) — Chairman of the Chechen National Revival Government Salambek Khadzhiyev prefers that parliamentary elections in the Chechen republic be held this year.

In an interview with INTERFAX in Groznyy he said that "elections provide a powerful boost to the stabilization of society, if, of course, the elections are fair".

Khadzhiyev himself does not intend to run for parliament because, he believes, "the task of the executive power is to ensure fair elections". "The head of the executive power should not pursue any political interests," he said.

Asked whether he will run for presidency if the parliament approves the presidency institution in Chechnya, Khadzhiyev said: "I don't feel like standing for president. However, if the process of return to peaceful life is in danger, I will certainly get involved in the race."

Commenting on the decision taken on September 1 by the National Reconciliation Committee (NRC) headed by Umar Avturkhanov to postpone the elections previously scheduled for November 5 by the NRC "until disarmament is completed" in the republic, Khadzhiyev said that the NRC, "given its diversity, does not represent all strata of the Chechen society".

Khadzhiyev believes that representatives of all "real political forces in Chechnya, including supporters of the Dudayev regime, should set the date for the elections during round-table discussions".

Khadzhiyev noted "the danger of holding the elections in Chechnya before the disarmament is completed because armed confrontation is still likely".

However, he believes, "the question should be put another way: the planned elections must take place. That is why the disarmament process should be stepped up to ensure that elections are held." "Those who do not want to disarm must be held responsible for the election's failure," said Khadzhiyev.

Khadzhiyev on Local Chechen Government

954F3372D Groznyy MARSHYU in Russian No. 23-24, 24-31 Aug 95 p 3

[TU Press Service report: "Administration Heads Meet"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting of the heads of administrations of localities and districts of the Chechen Republic has been held. A report on the theme "Role and Place of Local Government Authorities in the Life of the Chechen Republic" was delivered by Salambek Khadzhiyev, prime minister of the Government of National Revival. Having described the social and political in the republic as complex and unstable, he presented a new concept of the organization of the activity of the authorities locally.

In the prime minister's opinion, the localities should have sufficient financial resources to accomplish socioeconomic transformations in the countryside. The government has adopted a decision on the transfer of much command authority to the localities. Thus each center of population will have its own budget consisting of tax payments of local enterprises, organizations, and institutions. A large part of the collected personal taxes will also end up in the local budget. This will make it possible to enhance the role of the local government authorities considerably. All enterprises, organizations, and kolkhozes and sovkhozes located on the territory of the villages will be subordinate to the heads of the local government authorities. The new approach to a solution of the question of the delineation of authority locally should, in S. Khadzhiyev's opinion, contribute to a rise in the living standard of the rural population.

N.Ya. Fedosov, deputy leader of the Territorial Administration of Federal Authorities of the executive of the Russian Federation in the Chechen Republic, took part in the meeting.

Khasbulatov Called 'Illegitimate'

MM1309132595 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 95 p 1

[Report by Nikolay Kozhanov: "Chechnya: Strange Disarmament Game"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The disarmament operations being carried out these days in Chechnya are increasingly reminiscent of an Ionesco play from the theater of the absurd: Chechens stack their weapons and disarmed gunmen immediately take them away again in their capacity as local self-defense fighters. Vyacheslav Mikhaylov, the head of the Russian delegation at the talks, is amazed that "instead of the disarmament of the illegal formations what is happening is the surrender of weapons by the population who have nothing to do with them." Oleg Lobov, the Russian Federation President's representative in Chechnya, is incensed for the same reason too. Meanwhile attacks on the federal troops' positions are continuing.

Russian politicians, who are somewhat confused by this absurd situation, are now pinning their hopes on a "roundtable" involving all the republic's political forces and on Ruslan Khasbulatov, who has been invited to return home by the Council of Chechen Elders. The former Russian parliament speaker has not even begun work, yet he is already laying down his conditions, demanding "the removal of the regime installed in Chechnya by Moscow." This means the Government of National Rebirth headed by Salambek Khadzhiyev and Umar Avturkhanov's Committee of National Salvation.

Is it seemly to begin the search for peace with ultimatums? After all, when emphasizing the "unlawfulness" of the aforementioned power structures Khasbulatov ought to remember that he himself is absolutely "illegitimate" in Chechnya at the moment. And can the Council of Accord that he wants to create in Chechnya be effective if real political forces which have been operating in the republic for a long time now are eliminated?

A problem with many unknown quantities....

Indignation Over 'Our Home' Candidate

LD1209123595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1057 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Sept 12 (INTERFAX) — The leader of the Agrarian Party of Russia Mikhail Lapshin, who returned from his tour around the North Caucasus, told a news conference in Moscow on Tuesday that Chechen inhabitants not backing Dudayev are indignant that General Lev Rokhlin appeared as the third candidate on the federal list of the electoral movement Our Home Is Russia (OHIR). Lieutenant-General Rokhlin was commander of the North contingent of federal troops at the beginning of the developments in Chechnya.

According to Lapshin, most inhabitants in the regions he visited are against both the free sale of land and a nationwide referendum on the introduction of private land ownership, which is insisted upon by OHIR.

He said that Russian builders had reported the restoration of 7,000 buildings destroyed in Chechnya during hostilities. He, however, saw "not a single such building and no one knows where the money earmarked for the restoration work are channeled to". Lapshin said that not a single school had been restored in villages.

Speaking about prospects for this year's harvest, Lapshin predicted a grain yield of 65-million-tonnes, adding that Russia will not face famine.

He described as a "political marasmus" the fight with female deputy Yevgeniya Tishkovskaya initiated by Zhirinovskiy at the Duma session on Saturday. He evaded answering how the Agrarians will vote if the prosecutor's office demands that Zhirinovskiy be deprived of his deputy immunity. Lapshin said that he did not attend the Duma session on Saturday and will clarify the matter with members of his faction.

Muslim Assembly Appeals for Peace

954F3372A Groznyy MARSHYU in Russian No. 23-24, 24-31 Aug 95 p 1

["Appeal of the Assembly of Descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, Sheykhs, and Ustazi of the Chechen Republic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, sheykhs, and ustazi of Chechnya, united by an aspiration to save the Chechen people from annihilation, appeal to the conscience, wisdom, and mercy of the people and of each person individually: in the name of Allah, His messenger Muhammad, and your ustazi and sheykhs, BE RECONCILED.

In terms of the design, perfidy, and aims of its sponsors, its weapons and dimensions, the contradictoriness of its supporters and adversaries, the understanding of its logic, and its consequences, this war is without equal either in the history of wars on our land or in the history of the wars of other peoples.

The transitional period could culminate either in a just movement toward peace or unprecedented and brutal escalation, which is the particular danger of the moment and its decisive significance. Before perpetrating an action or uttering a word, think whether they will lie in the scales of war or peace. If you have a conscience, if you fear Allah, remember that an inflammatory word will cause the shedding of someone's innocent blood, which will lie as a stain on your soul, and that on Judgment Day you will have to answer for it to our Maker.

We appeal to all who have taken up arms, holding and defending lofty ideals and protecting the weak: Become warriors for peace! Your assistance, your valor, your selflessness are needed today more than ever. There is much that you will have to suppress in yourselves: both the bitterness of undeserved insults and a desire for vengeance. But we are sure that you are capable of this also!

The descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, ustazi, and sheykhs recognize their responsibility for the tragic situation of the Chechen people, the great human sacrifices and the devastation, the dangerous antagonisms of the political and military forces, and the real threat of civil war. We were unable to unite and defend the people in time against petty-politicking dealers in weapons, oil, and people's lives, health, and souls. We recognize our responsibility for the future fate of the peoples of the Chechen Republic.

The following are questions of life and death for the republic and each of its inhabitants:

—an end to hostilities and the establishment of lasting peace on our land, including a solution of the question of the status of the republic by way of a referendum and negotiations with regard to the mutual interests of the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic;
—the reconciliation of blood enemies;
—elimination of the consequences of the war;
—elections of the republic's representative authorities;
—restoration of the economy and the social sphere;
—education of the population according to the canons of the Muslim faith and Chechen standards and traditions.

Without a solution of all these questions, peace on our long-suffering land will not be lasting. For this reason the ELCHANAN VERASASH Council which we have created will work constantly and seek and find a solution for the strategic and day-to-day problems. Members of the council, incorporating resident imams, turkki, and active followers of the ustazi and sheykhs, will work in all localities.

BROTHER MUSLIMS!

Remember that in the tariqa, your sense of Muslim brotherhood should only strengthen. Do not permit dissension between yourselves, if you fear Allah, and revere your Prophet and his followers not by form of tariqa, not by disciple, not by clan, not by "positions" and "oppositions." Whoever sows discord among you is your enemy in life and in the faith. Let us rise together and defend our faith, our fatherland, our children—let us defend peace and build our great peaceful home! We know how to do this. We have the strength for this. Consequently, we are obliged to build it. May Allah help us here!

The Assembly of Descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, Sheykhs, and Ustazi calls on the command of the Joint Forces Grouping in the Chechen Republic to put a stop to all violations of human rights on the part of the servicemen and to prevent actions threatening the life, health, property, and historical, moral, and spiritual values of the peoples of the Chechen Republic.

We are sure that this appeal will meet with understanding and support from all those who believe in Allah and are prepared to follow the path of His Prophet Muhammad and their teacher and from all those who are committed to the principles of peace, humanism, and philanthropy.

Dala attu boyla vayn dika mel dolchu khluman tlekh!

Dala bakon tlekh tlekh nisdoyla vay!

Fatherland Movement Appeals for Peace

954F3372C Groznyy MARSHYU in Russian No. 23-24, 24-31 Aug 95 p 1

[Statement of Fatherland Social and Political Movement]

[FBIS Translated Text] The situation in the republic has changed with kaleidoscopic rapidity in the past week. Citizens of the republic tensely following the negotiating process and the events surrounding it are being made to go hot and cold by the menacing, frequently mutually contradictory, statements of the sides.

The breakthrough in the negotiations on a peace settlement—the signing of the agreement on the military block of issues—is not yet producing specific results. The document, which is quite serious and positive, on the whole, is for some incomprehensible reasons not being implemented. Not a single clause of this as yet sole agreement has yet been fulfilled. The public statement of the Russian side at the end of last week that the war was over and that the culminating peaceful stage of resolution of the Chechen problem had come about was in striking dissonance with the hard-line statements of Chernomyrdin and Yeltsin of 14-15 August on the possibility of a resumption of military operations in Chechnya unless the illegal military elements began to disarm in accordance with the signed agreement.

Compliance with this agreement on Dudayev's side, however, is being tied to the question, incomprehensible for observers, of power in the republic, about which the agreement said not a word. The Dudayevites are, by all accounts, laying claim to power in the republic in the transitional period, to which the Committee for National Accord and the National Revival Government cannot, of course, agree. Individual remarks of high-ranking persons and announcements of the news media of Russia concerning "the antagonism of the two groupings laying claim to power in the republic," the "Chechenization of the conflict," and "the possibility of the start of a civil war" are noticed in this connection. All this together with the Dudayev delegation's categorical rejection of the unification of the two Chechen sides in a single delegation, the anticipated troop withdrawal and the elimination of roadblocks between localities when real disarmament has not yet begun, and Yeltsin's more than strange statement concerning elections in Chechnya in the first half of 1996, not in November 1995, as contemplated earlier, indicates that there are in Russia and in Chechnya powerful forces interested in prolonging the conflict and in the instigation for this in the Chechen Republic of civil war with subsequent "peacekeeping" operations of the Russian military to "disengage" and "reconcile" the conflicting Chechen sides.

In connection with what has been said above, the Fatherland Social and Political Movement Coordinating Council states:

1) that it says an emphatic "No" to the attempts of certain forces, both in Russia and in Chechnya, to unleash civil war in the republic.

2) that it supports the agreement on the military block of issues and demands that the parties unswervingly comply with and fulfill the accords that have been reached.

3) That elections to the republic authorities should be held at the scheduled time.

4) That it appeals to all social and political and parties and the whole people of the Chechen Republic to consolidate and prevent the situation sliding into civil war and to disarm and resolve as soon as possible all problems that arise only by peaceful means, at the negotiating table.

16 August 1995.

Committee Backs Avturkhanov, Yegorov

954F3372B Groznyy MARSHYU in Russian No. 23-24, 24-31 Aug 95 p 1

["Appeal to President of the Russian Federation B.N. Yeltsin"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear Boris Nikolayevich,

We members of the Committee for National Accord of the Chechen Republic, concerned at the situation in the republic, appeal to you with hope of understanding and confidence in your readiness to do everything necessary to stabilize the situation in Chechnya. Now, at this tragic moment in the history of the Chechen people, deciding the question of the head of the republic for the transitional period is an extreme necessity.

Currently, under the conditions of armed conflict, the existence of several structures laying claim to power is leading to a prolongation of the state of war, disuniting people, and hindering the restoration of legality, the economy, and the social sphere. The existence of several leaders laying claim to power is contributing to the penetration of the power structures by extremist and criminal elements.

We are sure that only a leader of the republic endowed with executive authority is capable of securing the conditions for a normalization of the situation and the achievement of peace in the republic. In addition, the existence of the institution of leader of the republic would make it possible to halt the unlawful actions on the part of individual representatives of the armed forces of Russia and the MVD. And, finally and most important, the confirmation of a leader of the republic is a fact that would be correctly understood by the population of the republic and seen as recognition of the right of the Chechen people to a choice and would demolish the factor of occupation of the republic imposed by certain politicians.

We are sure that the leader of the republic at this difficult time should be Umar Avturkhanov, who has from the first days supported the achievement of peace and accord in the republic. At the same time, we believe that a permanent representative of the president of Russia is needed in the republic. We believe that the worthiest candidate for this role is N.D. Yegorov. His activity has, on the whole, been perceived with trust among the sober-minded part of the population of the republic.

We are sure, esteemed Boris Nikolayevich, that you will make the right decision capable of restoring peace in Chechnya and, as a whole, normalizing the situation in the region.

[Signed] Members of the Committee for National Accord of the Chechen Republic (41 signatures altogether).

From the Editors:

We obtained this appeal in the form of a letter addressed to B. Yeltsin on behalf of the majority of members of the republic's Committee for National Accord from circles close to this committee. The appeal raises, as we can see, the question of the need for the introduction of the position of head of the republic for the transitional period. The justification given for this is the fact that the existence of various branches of power is leading to a prolongation of the war and people's disunity and "preventing the restoration of legality, the economy, and the social sphere" and also "contributing to the penetration of the power structures by extremist and criminal elements" and "preventing a halt to the unlawful actions on the part of individual representatives of the armed forces of Russia and the MVD." There is a whole bouquet of mishaps on account of power not being in single hands. And not in the hands of just anyone but of their own man, useful and convenient not for all or for the majority but only for themselves and their associates. But we have already been through this, that is, we are still going through it and simply cannot get passed it. We must no more have one autocratic leader of the republic. This is repellent to the spirit of our people and to their detriment. We have had enough of Dudayev also.

Each branch of power has its own functional duties and strictly drawn range of questions on whose solution it should work. But it is precisely work that is lacking. Whereas the wrangling of the authorities and the desire to crush all beneath oneself are taking up a heap of the time and effort so necessary for the accomplishment of urgent tasks for lifting the republic from the ruins and ashes. It is by no means a question of the fact that we have no position of head of the republic, we have, we believe, no actual authorities as such. Because timeservers concerned merely with their own personal problems are to be found in the authorities, in the main. The main task of these people, seeing the condemned nature of these authorities, is to prepare the ground for painless membership of the new authorities. How else can we explain the so ruthless criticism by individual ministers and even deputy premiers of their own government? Aside from this, some leaders who found themselves on the crest of the wave at the time of the revolutions and counterrevolutions have proven incapable in the sphere of peaceful, creative labor. Quick-on-the-draw and snatch reflexes are clearly insufficient for this type of activity.

And why should this natural desire of members of the Committee for National Accord to see their leader as head of the republic be seen by the people as "recognition of the right of the Chechen people to a choice?" What have the Chechen people got to do with this?

As for the representative of the president of Russia in the Chechen Republic, who was, it seems, appointed long since, but who cannot as yet make up his mind to put in an appearance here. Whence this all of a sudden "worthiest candidate—N.D. Yegorov"—who has shown himself to be a supporter of drastic decisions in respect to Chechnya, whose results we are now reaping. The activity of Yegorov, who, incidentally, has already been the president of Russia's representative in the Chechen Republic, not only has not been "perceived with trust" but, on the contrary, has owing to its lack of due consideration and severity been comprehensively criticized. It was on account of flagrant failures in work that he was dismissed as chairman of the State Committee for Nationalities.

We should all understand one thing—we must bring order to bear in our home ourselves. And no uncle from Moscow will resolve our problems for us. An active civic position, responsibility, and the conscientious, honest creative labor each in his own place are needed for this, in our opinion.

Avturkhanov on Politics, Chechnya

954F3372E Groznyy MARSHYU in Russian No. 23-24, 24-31 Aug 95 p 3

[Interview with U. Avturkhanov, chairman of the Committee for National Accord, by A. Masayev; place and date not given: "Myths and the Truth About Avturkhanov"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Any celebrity is condemned to a double life—real and fabricated—as it were. Umar Avturkhanov, leader of the Chechen opposition in the recent past and now chairman of the Committee for National Accord, the highest representative authority of the Chechen Republic in the transitional period, has not escaped this fate either. Many various things are being said about U. Avturkhanov today. Our correspondent met with him, eyeball to eyeball, so to speak, and attempted to shed some light on this matter.

[Masayev] It is said that you were once fired from your position for serious misdemeanors and malfeasance. You were working in Abkhazia at the time, I believe. Is this so?

[Avturkhanov] Yes. I was, indeed, working in the Abkhaz MVD authorities. Only no one drove me out of office. People are not expelled from these authorities for serious misdemeanors and malfeasance, as you saw fit to put it, there are measures of a stricter nature.

[Masayev] It is said that you are an FSK man....

[Avturkhanov] I will tell you more than that: Many senior officers of the FSK, FSB, and MVD of Russia were my fellow students, and I maintain amicable and simply friendly relations with them. If you are hinting specifically at S. Stepashin, head of the FSK, who resigned recently, he is among them.

[Masayev] It is said that your security detail consists of 60 persons....

[Avturkhanov] This is impossible for two reasons. First, I have one or two cars at my disposal, and even these are "rented" from friends and acquaintances. Second, so many people could never be accommodated either at home, where things are cramped for the family itself, or in my office and reception area, where there is not a single square centimeter that is not taken up with visitors. I wish I could pay the few boys who have volunteered to look out for my security their wages on time (sighs heavily).

[Masayev] They say that the troops were committed at your request....

[Avturkhanov] I also have heard this (smiles). My possibilities here have been manifestly exaggerated. The military are subordinate only to their command. This is axiomatic. The decision to commit or withdraw troops is made by the country's political leadership. I would like, for example, to demand that these troops be withdrawn. But who would listen to me?

[Masayev] They say that the second day following the fall of Groznyy you yourself hoisted your flag over the so-called presidential palace.

[Avturkhanov] There is the Chechen Republic. This Chechen Republic has its own flag, and it will always fly where it is supposed to.

[Masayev] It is said that an attempt on your life was made recently....

[Avturkhanov] I was mistaken for someone else. I was shot at. But, fortunately, it all turned out all right....

[Masayev] It is said that your kinsfolk are unhappy with you....

[Avturkhanov] It is possible. I probably turned down a request from some of them for high office or a lucrative position.

Oil Industry Resumes Operations

954F3357A Groznyy GROZNENSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian No. 11, 25-31 Aug 95 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Chechnya's Oil"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The oil industry of the Chechen Republic has suffered greatly over the course of military operations. However, oil industry workers have been able to put into operation many areas of production, including those engaged in the extraction, collection, and transport of oil. More than 7,500 persons came to work today to enterprises of the YuNKO [not further identified] Grozneft. People are being paid on time. Of the 56 oil wells that are ready for work, more than 40 are already producing oil. In July, about 32,000 tonnes of oil were extracted. The yield of the "black gold" grows from month to month.

Reportage on Regional Issues, Politics, Elections

Regions React to Winter Energy Problems

MM1309103095 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Sep 95 p 2

["Provincial News" roundup by Rustam Arifdzhanov and Valeriy Konovalov: "Hot, Warm, Colder, Even Colder...."]

[FBIS Translated Text] In accordance with the new tradition, the predictions for winter in our country are again extremely gloomy. And whereas nobody believes any longer in impending famine, the opposite is true in terms of the cold. Imports can help out with food, but there is no alternative to energy. And what can we say about the winter when even now, in summer, the energy crisis is making itself felt.

In the "communist oasis" of Ulyanovsk Oblast, for example, electricity supply prices have doubled in a week: a kilowatt-hour there costs 72 rubles [R] instead of 35. Electricity supplies have risen sharply in price in Krasnodar and Kursk Oblast too — by 70 and 40 percent.

According to "YEES Rossii" [Unified Power System of Russia] Russian Joint-Stock Company predictions, we are going to be hit by an unprecedented energy catastrophe this winter unless electricity producers manage to find the necessary funds in the very near future. Since, in the words of Viktor Kudryavoy, first vice president of that company, the power industry has only one way left to combat unpaid bills — cutting off the electricity supply to debtors after a 30-day period of grace as stipulated by government decree.

And consumers' debts to the power industry increased to R23.2 trillion in the first half of the year. It is unrealistic to expect these debts to be repaid in the second half. Without this it is impossible to prepare fuel reserves for the winter. Warehouses currently contain barely more than half the required reserve — 15 million tonnes of coal. There is no chance of repairing equipment before the heating season, and most power stations and furnace houses have been operating for 30 years now.

The local authorities, by contrast, consider that the power industry, exploiting its monopoly position, has a stranglehold on the population.

Bryansk Oblast

As he told us, Bryansk citizen Viktor Samartsev reacted with understanding to the increase in electricity prices. And his fellow countrymen understand the nature of this process. Electricity is going up because a piece of sausage supplied from Darmstadt in the heart of Germany to Bryansk in the heart of Russia is immeasurably more expensive than the original price. Like a snowball, the sausage picks up percentage increases along the way.

Yet even the smartest Bryansk middleman does not trade in sausage or Chinese or Turkish consumer goods, does not import Polish vodka, does not even send abroad unquantifiable quantities of timber, metal, and oil. The market in which he operates is the local one and the goods he deals in are the prime necessities.

So "Bryanskoblenergo" [Bryansk Oblast Power Company] buys heat and light from "Bryanskenergo" [Bryansk Power Company] and distributes it to consumers.

The consumer, who couldn't care less who he buys from and how, nevertheless does care that there are two obstacles — or three, or even five — to his acquiring such simple things as heat and light, Therefore even a Bryansk person who is far removed from economics and politics is curious to know what "Bryanskenergo" is and what the company with the abbreviation "obl" in the middle is. Our reader engineer Samartsev has not been able to divine the point of this distinction.

So, the energy company without the "obl" buys energy from the producers. The oblast power company buys the same heat and light from the power company without an "obl" in it and sells it on, making money in the process, of course. This year the oblast administration decided to increase the oblast power company's income even further. Under a decree from Administration Head Vladimir Karpov plant substations and grids and also all settlement and rayon center power industry facilities are transferred to this intermediary organization.

There is no way energy can become cheaper as a result of this, only more expensive. In the words of "Bryanskenergo" General Director Nikolay Luzhitskiy, cutting out the middleman would cut charges per kilowatt from R71 to R63.

This is the way is works. The Bryansk company buys energy from the producers at the Smolensk nuclear power plant at R42.80. But it has to sell it to "Bryanskoblenergo" at R39.20. At a loss to itself, but that's what the charges commission prescribes. This alone costs the power company R6.5 billion. Selling heat and light for municipal services at below the real cost means an increase in the cost charged to industry. The lost billions have to be made up somehow.

The Bryansk "energy miracle" — transferring plant grids and substations to "Bryanskoblenergo" — has complicated the ordinary consumer's life. But the middlemen are thriving.

Leningrad Oblast

Tractors and combines are working the fields gathering the harvest here. Strictly speaking these are not fields but bogs. And the harvest is not of grain or even of potatoes. They are harvesting peat. People who have never seen this process in action might be surprised how similar it is to the grain harvest. Tractors with trailer equipment come along and slice off the top surface, which is fed through the machinery, briquetted, and collected in a hopper. It is then unloaded into a heap, from where it is transported to consumers. This is the fuel which has become the alternative to coal in Leningrad Oblast this year.

The oblast needs 400,000 tonnes of coal for the winter. It used to be imported from Vorkuta and other coal-mining areas. These relationships have now become more difficult. The miners have problems of their own. The consumers here are sympathetic, but this does not take away their worries about a cold winter. The thinking here was: If there is no guarantee of reliable coal supplies we have to find alternative sources of energy. But what? And there it is, peat, right underfoot....

"Lentorf" [Leningrad Peat Company] General Director Aleksandr Strukov told us that 100,000 tonnes of peat will be cut this year as against 25,000 tonnes last year. And next year the figure will be 300,000 tonnes. Petersburg scientists and designers have developed special machines for the industrial cutting of peat. There has already been interest from abroad in these new designs. The essence of the revolution is that peat used to be cut for the countryside, for fertilizer, but now it is for power production and self- sufficiency. The Leningraders have set the task of abandoning coal by the year 2000 and switching to their own peat. It is 75 percent cheaper than coal. It produces less energy, of course. But if you add up the purchasing, transportation, and other costs, the benefits are enormous. This winter the oblast's inhabitants will already be feeling the advantages of energy self-sufficiency — in terms of both price and reliability. But this is a regional quirk. Not everyone has the opportunity to choose.

Chelyabinsk Oblast

Here too attempts are being made to find alternative sources to supply the oblast's cities and rayons with power and heat. The Chelyabinsk Electrolytic Zinc Plant and other enterprises in the oblast are building their own power plants. An oblast energy-saving fund and also the South Urals Center for Energy-Saving Technologies have been set up here. None is this is just for the fun of it, of course.

The debts owed to "Chelyabinskenergo [Chelyabinsk Power Company] have already reached R1.2 trillion. Country dwellers are the main debtors. They account for R500 billion. In addition, the railroad and metallurgical sectors are heavily in debt to the power company. The population too is not distinguished by scrupulousness in paying for electricity — only 73 percent pay their bills on time.

Chelyabinsk student Mikhail Smirnov told us that the interruptions in power supplies have been a disaster for his family recently. "You never know whether you're going to have light or heat," he says. "On top of that, since May we have had nighttime and daytime rates for power consumption which differ by 400 percent. However, prices are one thing but guaranteed power supplies are another. If the hot water and electricity are suddenly cut off now, during the summer, it's not too painful; but what's going to happen in the winter?"

In the winter prices will go up, in any event. From 1 September, as we have been informed from Chelyabinsk, electricity and heat supply charges have been increased. Nobody can say whether this will guarantee inhabitants heat and light.

Norilsk To Remain Part of Krasnoyarsk

LD1209181995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1607 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Sept 12 (INTERFAX-EURASIA) — Norilsk will remain part of Krasnoyarsk territory. There will be no administrative changes till the adoption of a law on an autonomous district or a treaty between Taymyr autonomous district and Krasnoyarsk territory. The statement was made by a senior official from the presidential administration Sergey Samoylov in an interview with INTERFAX-EURASIA.

He commented on the conference on Norilsk held by the head of the administration Sergey Filatov Tuesday.

The conference was prompted by a conflict stemming from a recent decision of the Duma of Taymyr autonomous district which subordinated Norilsk to the district, not Krasnoyarsk territory to which the city used to belong.

Samoilov announced that the conference was attended by officials from legislative and executive bodies of the district and territory.

According to him, the situation is complicated by the attempts of Taymyr to find a political solution to the problem without considering its economic aspects.

The official stressed that the question of administering Norilsk must be settled in a treaty between the two federation members. The draft of the treaty has been submitted to both sides. If the conflict continues, Samoylov said, the federal authorities will use its powers.

He said that later this week the Taymyr Duma would discuss a letter from President Boris Yeltsin asking the leadership of the district not to revise the relations between federation members.

If the local Duma changes its decision, one can count on a treaty between Taymyr and Krasnoyarsk in October, Samoylov felt.

In an earlier interview with INTERFAX-EURASIA Samoylov stressed that the question of Norilsk is not political but economic and is related to the taxation of Norilsk Nickel corporation.

The company produces three quarters of the country's nickel and copper.

Soskovets Visits Tyumen, Nizhnevartovsk

LD1209191695 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In Tyumen today there was a meeting of the council of the association of economic cooperation among regions and republics of the Urals area with the participation of Oleg Soskovets, first deputy prime minister of Russia. Here is our correspondent Marina Polunina with the details.

[Polunina] The meeting was chaired by Eduard Rossel, governor of Sverdlovsk region and president of the association. The main questions under discussion by the leaders of ministries and departments, enterprises and organizations, concerned intensifying cooperation between the oil and gas complex and the machine-building enterprises of the Urals. The conference also confirmed the ecology safety program for the Urals region and the primary measures to implement it.

Soskovets and Yuriy Shafranik, minister of fuel and power engineering today flew from Tyumen to Nizhnevartovsk. There they made an inspection flight over the Samotlor deposit and the Nizhnevartovsk industrial complex. They also held a conference on the reconstruction of the deposit and the development of the Nizhnevartovsk region.

Kulikov Departs for Urals, Siberia Tour

MM1309101995 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Sep 95 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report "from the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs:" "Better To See Once...."]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian Minister of Internal Affairs Anatoliy Kulikov set off yesterday on a working tour of cities of the Urals and Siberia. The Russian Federation MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] announced that the purpose of the trip is to examine the state of the struggle against crime in that region and also to visit the regional internal affairs organs.

Anatoliy Kulikov is to go first to Perm, where he will familiarize himself with the work of the Internal Affairs Administration and penitentiary institutions, as well as with the activity of the internal troops.

'Grim' Ingush Economy Viewed

954F3373A Nazran SERDALO in Russian 22 Aug 95 p 1

[Kh. Pliyev report: "'...Not an Adventure, the Sole Way To Help Ingushetia'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The first economic preference zone, the experiment in which is being conducted on the territory Ingushetia, shall go ahead, the government commission of Russia has decided.

On 24 July of this year a decree of the Government of the Russian Federation appointed a special commission for study of the socioeconomic situation in Ingushetia and the activity of the "Ingushetia" ZEB [Economic Preference Zone].

President of Ingushetia Ruslan Aushev and Andrey Shapovalyants, head of the government commission and Minister of Economics of Russia, held a news conference in Nazran on Saturday (19 August) on the results of the work.

A. Shapovalyants told journalists that the commission, accompanied by the president of Ingushetia and the head of the administration of the ZEB, had visited facilities in the republic being built on money earned by the "zone" and that the members of the commission had satisfied themselves that the socioeconomic situation in the republic is very grim. It is being made worse also by the presence on so small a territory of an enormous number of refugees and involuntary immigrants from Chechnya and North Ossetia.

According to him, the commission found as the result of a thorough check no violations of a criminal nature in the actions of the administration of the ZEB. "There is certain unfinished business, specifically, in the tax system (and this is natural inasmuch as such an experiment is being conducted on the territory of the Russian Federation for the first time). The shortcomings will be removed, and the experiment will continue," A. Shapovalyants said.

In addition, the question of the expediency of the creation in the future of Russian offshore zones on the territory of other components will, according to him, be discussed on the basis of the example of Ingushetia.

The main thing is that the Government of Russia and the components of the Federation already understand that the "Ingushetia" ZEB is not an adventure, it is as yet the sole way to help Ingushetia get back on its feet, President of Ingushetia R. Aushev believes.

"We (the leadership of Ingushetia, that is—author) are today not even soliciting money from the government for the formation of the republic, understanding the state of the federal budget. We are asking for only one thing: Let us make money ourselves so that Ingushetia may become an equal component of the Russian Federation," R. Aushev said.

According to the president of Ingushetia, as of 1 January 1996 Ingushetia will begin to return to the federal budget the money invested in the ZEB for the construction of various facilities inasmuch as all the new construction projects will be privatized and transferred to private hands.

Ingush Refugee Statistics Published

954F3373D Nazran ZAMANKHO in Russian
25 Aug 95 p 2

[Unattributed report under "Own Information" rubric]

[FBIS Translated Text] The cost of the daily allowance for the refugees and involuntary immigrants in Ingushetia is 5,000 rubles per person.

As of August 1995 there were 47,045 involuntary immigrants from Prigorodnyy Rayon and the city of Vladikavkaz (deported in the fall of 1992 as a result of the "Ossetian-Ingush conflict") and 161,024 refugees from Chechnya on the territory of Ingushetia.

Nazranovskiy Rayon accounts for the largest number of refugees and involuntary immigrants: 75,847 persons or 16,393 families.

Of the said number, 5,271 involuntary immigrants from North Ossetia (mainly those who were living in refugee encampments) and also 1,600 Ingush living in the village of Chermen of Prigorodnyy Rayon and the Kartsa community of the city of Vladikavkaz (they are being given lump-sum assistance) and 120 refugees from Chechnya have been identified for free meals. These figures are adduced in a report of Nazir Doskiyev, leader of Ingushetia's Territorial Migration Service.

Ingush CPRF Sets Election Goals

954F3373C Nazran ZAMANKHO in Russian
25 Aug 95 p 1

[A. Tsechoyev report: "Communist Party Formed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The first republic conference of communists of Ingushetia was held on 26 August 1995 in the meeting hall of the Republic of Ingushetia Parliament.

Among the 187 delegates, guests from Moscow, pilot-cosmonaut V.I. Sevostyanov, chairman of the Credentials Commission of the State Duma, member of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF] Central Executive Committee, and twice hero of the USSR, and Lieutenant General M.S. Surkov and K.A. Tsiku, members of the CPRF Central Executive Committee, took part in the conference.

The conference agenda contained six items: the report on the formation of the Communist Party of the Republic of Ingushetia within the CPRF, the adoption of the party rules and program, elections of the Executive Committee, elections of the Auditing Commission, elections of the delegate to the First All-Russia Party Conference in Moscow, confirmation of the candidates for the State Duma. The report on the first item was delivered by Magomed Sultanovich Tumzayev, member of the Communist Party of the Republic of Ingushetia. In his speech he gave a general description of the state of the societal and political and social situation in Russia. He sharply assailed the policy of the Russian Federation presidential team. He proposed the formation of a Communist Party of the Republic of Ingushetia within the CPRF under the slogan "Russia, Labor, Government by the People, Socialism." M.S. Surkov, member of the CPRF Central Executive Committee, spoke in the debate on the first item.

In his substantive speech he gave a brief description of the party's activity from the first days of its formation in the sphere of foreign and domestic policy, social and economic activity, and nationality policy. He demonstrated on the basis of specific examples how the army is being discredited and how the propaganda of pornography is loosening the foundations of the family. Describing his visit to the mountains, M.S. Surkov emphasized that today's Ingushetia differs fundamentally from Russia (stabilization of the situation, the creation of the Communist Party of the Republic of Ingushetia by mutual consent of people and president).

The CPRF is opposed to the present Government of the Russian Federation and the president and his entourage. The actions of the authorities in Chechnya cannot be justified. Such matters cannot be settled by guns and tanks. In Russia enterprises of heavy and light industry are at a standstill, and all Russia's natural resources are being sold wholesale and retail.

There was a meeting in the State Duma with Americans, who declared openly that they were preparing for the elections to the State Duma of Russia. The first step toward stabilizing the situation in the state and raising the question of the place of the president and the Duma is to occupy as many seats in the Duma as possible. Yeltsin's ministers are on the take. The Communist Party is not opposed to private property but is opposed to the enslavement of the people. Our task is to restore social justice. The elections must show that the people have seen the light and are fed up with "democracy."

Valentina Ivanovna Bizikova, secretary of the Council of Veterans of the city of Malgobek, emphasized in her speech: "I have lived for 42 years in the city of Malgobek, we have very good people here, and we represent at the conference today only some of them, and although many of us are ill, we have come to support the Communist Party. There never were misters in the Republic of Ingushetia nor are there now either. You, our dear guests, will never hear anyone addressing even R.S. Aushev as 'mister.' We have good people and a good president, and for this reason we will ask him to stay on for a second term. But no one will ask Yeltsin to do so. I believe that we need to form a party as part of the CPRF."

The communists D. Meyrtsev, L. Gamurziyeva, S.L. Pliyev, M. Chapanov, M. Khamchiyev, E. Akiyeva, K.A. Tsiku, M.B. Pliyev, V.I. Sevostyanov, and A.-Kh.Kh. Aushev also spoke in the debate. I believe that it will be of interest to the readers to know the opinion of K.A. Tsiku and V.I. Sevostyanov, representatives of the CPRF Central Executive Committee. In his speech K.A. Tsiku conveyed to the fraternal Ingush people warm greetings from the Adygea Communist Party.

"The CPRF Central Executive Committee," he declared, "opposed in the Duma the commitment of troops to Chechnya, but the news media of Russia, under the heel of President Yeltsin's ruling entourage, did not broadcast the statements of the communists."

V.I. Sevostyanov emphasized in his speech that the CPRF has a program minimum and a program maximum. At the first stage it is the surmounting of the economic crisis, provision of the people with the minimum of their requirements, and a strengthening of interethnic solidarity, for which it is essential to elect to the Duma as many members of the Communist Party as possible in order to limit the power of the president and allow the Duma to form the government. We know Prigorodnyy Rayon is still bleeding, but we are categorically opposed to a rearrangement of the state Zhirinovskiy-style.

We are categorically opposed to physical solutions of problems, everything needs to be resolved by way of negotiations, the question of Prigorodnyy Rayon included, he summed up.

"The CPRF is setting us an example of struggle against the fascist regime, and the communists should lift the deported and humiliated people up off their knees. Yeltsin's army has perpetrated genocide in respect to the Ingush living in Prigorodnyy Rayon, but the Ingush have not hardened their hearts and have not come to adopt a hostile attitude toward the Russian people. Permit me on behalf of the delegates to our conference to thank Gennadiy Andreyevich Zyuganov and the members of the Central Executive Committee for their support for our undertakings and the president of the Republic of Ingushetia, who has taken an understanding view of our desires, and to wish you success in the coming elections," A.-Kh.Kh. Aushev emphasized in his speech.

Completing its business, the conference of communists of the Republic of Ingushetia adopted a resolution on the formation of the Communist Party of the Republic of Ingushetia within the CPRF, approved and adopted the rules and program of the Communist Party, elected a 21-man republic committee of the Communist Party of the Republic of Ingushetia, and elected a five-man Auditing Commission. Magomed Sultanovich Tumzayev was elected first secretary of the Communist Party of the Republic of Ingushetia by show of hands.

M.S. Tumzayev and V.I. Sevostyanov were delegated to the first party conference.

M.S. Tumzayev was nominated candidate for the State Duma by single-mandate district, and M.S. Surkov was nominated for the regional slate of candidates. Eight representatives of the candidates for the State Duma were elected.

Novosibirsk Soviet Discusses Elections

954F3332A Novosibirsk VECHERNIY NOVOSIBIRSK in Russian 30 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by Dmitriy Gorbachev: "We will Elect a Governor. Only It Is Not Yet Clear When: A Resolute But Not the Last Battle at the Session"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The hallmark of the 13th session of the oblast soviet of deputies, which was held a few days ago, was that it was supposed to consider such important draft laws for the oblast as the oblast charter and the law on electing the head of the executive authority.

It was known in advance that the session would be quite stormy and some deputies would firmly object to the law on gubernatorial elections, but the reality exceeded the expectations, while local deputies proved that in terms of heated passions they are a match for the State Duma. Actually, the law on gubernatorial elections was submitted as early as May, and the people's elected representatives were mulling it unhurriedly. The committee on legislation, headed by Victor Kuznetsov, was directly in charge of it. The committee even worked out its own version of the law on electing the head of the executive authority, which differed from the administration's version mainly in that the governor was to be elected by the oblast soviet instead of the oblast population. The alternative version of the law did not make it to the session, though, while the committee was unable to make a definitive decision: Three of its members voted for the draft law, and three voted against.

The committee on ecology proposed to consider the law on gubernatorial elections after the oblast charter; the agrarian committee proposed to consider this law not in the committee on legislation but some other; and the budget committee supported adopting the law in the first reading and asking the president to permit holding gubernatorial elections on 17 December. Deputy Gennadiy Pugachev even went so far as to have proposed to remove Viktor Kuznetsov from his position for having failed his responsibilities.

The session spent an hour and a half considering the proposals and forming the agenda. By a majority of six votes it was decided not to discuss at this session the law on electing oblast soviet deputies. Viktor Kuznetsov was not dismissed, but 12 deputies voted for this proposal, with 14 against, which gives the first secretary of the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] oblast committee some food for thought. Then the deputies approved the oblast and rayon electoral commissions.

This year for the first time the same committee on legislation formed commissions by the party attribute—each major party got several seats on the commission. However, practice showed this method to be flawed: In the course of the rating vote, the deputies struck out from commission slates representatives of democratic parties and some LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] candidates. Deputy Isayev very temperamentally ranted over the fact that the session, in his words, purged the democrats from the list, but could not do anything about it and left the meeting hall in protest. Not for long, though—he soon returned.

After a break, it took the reconvened and registered deputies several attempts to count how many of them were in the hall after all. Several registrations produced a series of different results, and the deputy count fluctuated between 27 and 33. In the final count they had to resort to a voice roll-call, which showed that 33 deputies were present.

This was perceived as a light warm-up before the main action. After this the session finally got to consider the Novosibirsk Oblast charter.

Oblast soviet chairman Anatoliy Sychev presented a report in which he described the work on the charter, which began two years ago under a different composition of the soviet, and arguments with the executive authority that developed in the course of this work. He suggested that the executive authority in the oblast excessively dominates the legislative one and the right to elect and remove the governor should be vested with the oblast's assembly of representatives. Deputy Isayev said in debates that the charter had been written under tremendous pressure from the administration and represents not one but several versions of the oblast's system merged together. Accusing the executive authority of dirty play, unprofessional behavior, bureaucratism, and corruption, the deputy drew attention to the fact that the charter lacked a method of controlling the administration's activities and that the latter is not answerable to anyone.

An opposite viewpoint was expressed by Gennadiy Pugachev, who noted an amazing similarity in the positions of democrats and communists and commented on this circumstance: The former do not have a leader, and for the latter the situation is not yet ripe for getting their man elected governor. The need to adopt an oblast charter, however, had been obvious for quite a long time, and most federation components have already adopted such documents, while our deputies were in no hurry. Vasiliy Kiselev, representing the administration, said that multiple choice is a merit rather than a shortcoming of the chapter, since in the process of popular discussion criticisms and amendments are inevitable and they will have to be considered anyway, so the existence of several options will only make the job easier. The results of the vote were as follows: 27 deputies voted for adopting the charter in the first reading, and two against.

The next item on the agenda was the draft law on gubernatorial elections. By the time the discussion on the main item came up, the deputies were pretty worn out and had already said most of what they wanted to say. Vasiliy Kiselev delivered a report on preparation of the law and described the work on it, stressing the importance of having the governor elected by the entire population: Only in this case will the head of executive authority be sufficiently independent of Moscow.

Viktor Kuznetsov pointed out the law's shortcomings and even said that the session is being asked to adopt a nonentity in the first reading. In his view, the law is nothing to speak of—it is simply not there; what is there is a number of articles from various laws, mechanically combined into one text. Deputy Plushkin called on the colleagues to adopt the law and said that they will still have enough time to think about elections of deputies and "mull it over."

As a result, the session decided to adopt the law in the first reading and create a task force on getting it into proper shape, which will include all commission chairmen with the right of decisive vote and all members of the committee on legislation. It was also decided to ask the president to set the gubernatorial elections to coincide with parliamentary ones, and to discuss the law in the second reading no later than 20 September. This proposal was supported by 24 deputies, three were against, and one abstained. Nevertheless, Viktor Kuznetsov reported that his committee would draft two draft laws, which means new battles in the soviet in the not too distant future.

There is, however, quite a good chance that oblast residents will soon be able to elect their own governor.

Concerns Over Novosibirsk Election Aired

954F3384A Novosibirsk SOVETSKAYA SIBIR in Russian 5 Sep 95 pp 1, 2

[Article by N. Zubritskaya: "The Fateful Flapping of the Left and Right Wings (Continuation of the Discussion from the 13th Session of the Oblast Soviet of Deputies)"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The elections of the head of the oblast administration are agitating both branches of power; therefore, there were concerned debates at the last session regarding the draft law on elections of the head and on the date they will be conducted.

We Will Look Into It Later

When talking about the left and right wing of the unified organ of power in our oblast, we have in mind their desired and actual merger, but not political orientation. An unprecedented transformation has occurred in our time: The political colors and hues are so mixed that frequently affiliation to a party or movement, and even a person's position itself, does not make it possible to ascertain from an outward impression "where the right and left side is." The executive and representative powers are united like the wings of a bird, and they grow from one place, from the "body" of the people.

The oblast administration submitted its draft of elections of the head to the oblast soviet of deputies. In addition, there is a draft law prepared in the oblast soviet. Obviously, it was necessary to examine in detail which of them to adopt in the first reading. For some reason this did not happen. Why? "History" is silent on this.

The oblast administration draft was submitted to the session. V. Kuznetsov, chairman of the Committee on Legislation and Cooperation with Organs of Local Self-Government, Political Parties, Public Movements, and the Mass Media, when he spoke, compared it with the shelf of a library "whose contents were scattered and then restacked in a haphazard manner." In this connection, and insisting on guaranteeing equal rights for candidates for the post of head of administration, Kuznetsov repeatedly, including at the moment of the vote, tried to specify which draft to work on further. With comments from the floor he was asked to be calm and, they said: "You can look into it later."

The chairman of the Legislative Committee characterized such an approach to the adoption of a law on the first reading as a violation of the regulations and legal nihilism. The system for the arrangement of state power in the oblast was not approved, and neither was the method of electing the head—by a general vote, or by the representative assembly. It is not known how much time will be required in order to come to a well-reasoned and coordinated opinion on these very important questions. But some of the deputies persistently hurried events. A.S. Plyushkin even proposed to work up the draft and bring it to the necessary stage of readiness during the half-hour lunch break in the course of the session. That is, a large number of the deputies, especially the leaders of rayon administrations and enterprises, were inclined to support the proposal on the part of the oblast administration, which is purposefully preparing for elections of the head.

The reasoning of Deputy G.A. Pugachev, who spoke more often than anyone else, boiled down to the fact that it is necessary for the oblasts to "crawl out from under this center." Judging by the effectiveness in making decisions, to "jump out" from under it. But where are we galloping off to? It now looks like this—"we will look into it later."

The speech of V.N. Kiselev, acting head of the oblast administration at that moment, drew the following conclusions: It is necessary at this session to adopt a draft on the first reading in order to ensure a legal basis for further work on the draft and the conduct of elections of the head, and fundamentally to acquire from the president permission for their conduct. Then at least one branch of power here will acquire stability and strength for the next four years. He expressed his "principled" opinion that elections of the head of the oblast administration should not be combined with elections of the deputies of the oblast soviet. According to experience, this is not done in an election campaign. In addition, a paralysis of power would occur for about a half year, but "life does not allow such intermissions."

Pseudo-Democracy Could Lead to Catastrophe

Whether the people or the Assembly of Representatives should elect the head, which is discussed in the variant draft of the charter of the oblast, could become the question to top all questions in the next few days and weeks.

At first glance, a popular election is more democratic. But let us discuss this. It is clear that the voter knows no more about the potential head of administration than what the candidate says about himself, or what is recounted about him by the mass media, which from the day of birth of its age-old profession has been distinguished by its ability to sell itself. The voter does not know the secret sins of an aspirant or his creative potential.

In this case the elections are managed by streams of information, and it is very easy for the voter to be deceived. To take a "cuckoo" for a "hawk." He sees only the outward face of a candidate, and then goes off to vote. Afterwards, for the next four or five years the voter cannot protest if the elected head turns out to be a worthless manager. At the same time, the first person may not be liked by everyone right away, but it is impossible to correct the mistake. There is no mechanism that would enable people to boldly express their attitude toward the authorities or make the decision to leave or reelect someone who does not justify their trust.

After the elections, the head becomes practically unreachable in terms of criticism and control. But if such a person is permitted to construct his own mechanism for his own reelection, he can be ensured life ownership of a beloved chair. This is a catastrophe that history already knows. We should not repeat mistakes that we know—this is the idea that is set forth in the constructive proposals. This is apparent from both the right and the left wing.

According to the scheme, the Assembly of Representatives is capable of ensuring greater democracy than voters voting in the dark. It will have the capability, with the help of scientists and analysts, to thoroughly evaluate the qualities of the aspirants by drawing the programs of the representatives of the rayons and the broad masses of the population into the evaluation. There is the supposition that an election campaign that will be cheaper for the oblast purse will come with it. According to some estimates, Sverdlovsk Oblast budgetary expenditures during the sensational elections of the head of administration amounted to about 100 billion rubles, which exceeded the sum of the annual budgets of several rayons all at once.

True, it is known that the Federation Council "carved out" a draft law on the delimitation of power in which the Duma members wrote that a component of the federation has the right to determine if the people elect the governor or the oblast Duma appoints him. The thrust of the deliberations is this: If a division of powers is proclaimed, then one power cannot appoint another.

But the Assembly of Representatives, whose members according to the concept should be deputies of the oblast soviet of deputies, the head of administration of the oblast, and, according to the principle of proportional representation, the deputies of the electoral organs of local self-government, elected heads of local self-government of Novosibirsk, cities of oblast subordination, and rayons of the oblast, apparently is an organ that stands above both branches of power. Something on the order of an "arbiter." In general, discussions in this regard lie ahead, and we will not make any predictions at this time.

Compromising Material and Compromise

A calm tension exists behind the businesslike, "conditioned" tone. The main thing is not discussed "before the people." The main barriers are ahead; therefore, forces are being used sparingly. The proposal of Deputy G.A. Pugachev on the need to replace V.Ye. Kuznetsov on the Legislative Committee was received without an outburst. The reason: "He engages in pettifoggery," and he dragged out the work on draft laws.

We will note that while evaluating the work of individual deputies, their specific contribution, and the outcome of the "products," moreover, of a qualitative and not an amateurish execution, it would be unfair not to recognize the merits of the chairman of the Legislative Committee. Therefore, talk about his resignation and voting for it at once creates a strange impression. Why such speed in making changes? To eliminate in his person a skilled politician and organizer? If it is not possible to "move him aside," then he can at least be discredited somewhat and given a "scare"? If this was intended, then neither the first, nor the second, nor the third succeeded (there is no point in working on fear—this deputy has such a rare quality). But his opponents are trying to operate on the principle that "many drops of water will wear down a stone." However, there is a fine point here: Who is the stone, and who in this case are the drops?

Most reasonable of all, of course, is a policy not of compromising material but of the compromise that is visible in the speeches of the most constructive politicians, and it must be hoped that it will be expressed in the future in a creative consensus of both branches of power.

But When Are the Elections for Governor?

Closest to this question is the president's team, which is obviously looking into the candidacies and is associating probable dates with this. It is known that after the session a government telegram came that talks about the need first and foremost to pass a law.

But answering unequivocally about the dates of elections of the head is still impossible. It is not ruled out that they will be set for December. But who in this period could become sufficiently well known in order to compete with I.I. Indinok? It is said that V.D. Tolokonskiy could still register for this rivalry, but for other candidates there is little time to gather speed. Therefore, parties and movements would willy-nilly begin to orient themselves not on the worthiest but on the best-known candidate. Incidentally, in the draft on the elections of the head that was passed on the first reading, the campaign period is less than a month.

Speaking at the session, Deputy P.N. Isayev emphasized: "Time is needed for political organization. The governor is not a personality. We must in the end reject this concept. We look at the merits of a person and at his appearance, and according to these indicators we elect someone to a post on which it is possible to allocate sums on the order of R5 trillion in our time. The governor is a political figure, a leader, and the representative of the capital of one sort or another.... Therefore, time is necessary to structure the political forces that will introduce the candidates."

As the saying goes, we have arrived: The governor is not a personality, and his merits should not interest us.... In this connection I would like to remind legal defender P.N. Isayev and all voters: Anti-personality leaders can be powerful political leaders. You will recall that they also always turned out to be "right" under all laws as well, in contrast to specific personalities from the people.

Orenburg Schedules Governor Election

MM1309084495 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by Bulat Kalmantayev: "Everyone Wants To Be Rossels"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Orenburg — The Orenburg Oblast legislative assembly has scheduled the election of the oblast's head of executive power. A date has been set — at the same time as the elections to the State Duma.

For the vote to take place 17 December the local Duma deputies have had to make a change to the oblast charter and the urgently adopted a law on the election of the governor. Anyone who has lived in the oblast for at least a year and is not less than 30 years old can become governor.

The deputies voted for gubernatorial elections despite the prosecutor's warning that the local normative act contradicts existing federal legislation. The oblast parliament found a compromise formula: still asking the president to schedule elections for 17 December by a special edict.

The legislative also assembly supported the initiative of the present governor, Vladimir Yelagin, who wanted to ask the president and the federal organs of power to change the deputies' term of office. As we know, for the transitional period it was set at two years. And the elections were to be in March next year. The governor is suggesting that the powers of the oblast parliament of the first convocation be extended for a further two years.

Duma Candidates Nominated in KBR

954F3392A Nalchik GAZETA YUGA in Russian 1 Sep 95 p 1

[Article by Zarema Khadartseva: "Parties and Movements Are Compiling Lists"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Practically all the public associations that exist in the Kabardino-Balkaria Republic [KBR] have already identified their candidates for deputy of the Russian Federation State Duma.

The conference of the Russia Is Our Home [Nash Dom—Rossiya, NDR] block unanimously nominated Vladimir Sokhov, deputy prime minister of the KBR Government, as candidate for the one-seat District No. 13 situated on the territory of Kabardino-Balkaria.

As explained to a GAZETA YUGA correspondent by Georgiy Pytov, chairman of the local branch of NDR, Vladimir Sokhov is not an NDR member; nevertheless, the initiative group selected him specifically, inasmuch as NDR is counting on professionalism and competence.

The Russia Is Our Home federal list proposes the candidacies of Lyudmila Fedchenko, deputy of the Council of the Republic of the KBR parliament, and Muhkareb Ulbashev, cochairman of the Interethnic Relations Committee of the parliament. "In voting for Fedchenko, we had in mind that our republic is represented not only by men, but also by nice women," noted Georgiy Pytov. "And Ulbashev's trump card is the combination of youth and political experience."

Vladimir Termizhanov, deputy of the economics department of the KBNII [Kabardino-Balkaria Scientific Research Institute], and Zhanet Atabiyeva, chief of a department of the Gidrometallurg AO [joint-stock company], got on the general federal list of the electoral association Communists of Russia [Kommunisty Rossii] from Kabardino-Balkaria. A candidate has not been nominated yet for the one-seat district. "We will unite on this question with our allies—agrarians, veterans, and officers," said Khabas Kelemetov, chairman of the Kabardino-Balkaria party organization. "But cooperation with Russia Is Our Home is unacceptable for us."

The Agrarian Party [Agrarnaya partiya] has also not yet identified its candidate for the one-seat district. But as emphasized by Makhti Kabardikov, first deputy chairman of the party, the Agrarian candidate will have no relations with Our Home. Amirkhan Kushkhov, KBR minister of agriculture and foodstuffs; Viktor Punarzhi, director of the Stepnoy sovkhoz; and Kharum Mammeyev, chairman of the Sukan-Su kolkhoz, are proposed on the federal list.

Makhti Kabardikov reported that the Agrarians of Kabardino-Balkaria, Adygea, Karachay-Cherkessia, Kalmykia, and Ingushetia, had decided to join together in a single front. Candidate Kushkov stands as number one on the proposed list.

Russia's Democratic Choice [Democraticheskiy vybor Rossii, DVR] is also coming out as a regional bloc (Krasnodar Kray, Rostov Oblast, Kabardino-Balkaria, Adygea, Karachay-Cherkessia, North Ossetia, Ingushetia, Chechnya, and Kalmykia). Boris Titenko, a Rostov resident, is in first place on the party list submitted by it; in second place is Nikolay Cherkashin, a Krasnodar resident, and in third place is Vladislav Bolov, a Nalchik resident. The latter is now under investigation and could not even go to the congress in Moscow, inasmuch as he signed a statement undertaking not to leave the area. But as is believed by Zalim Murtazov, member of the council of the Kabardino-Balkaria republic organization of the DVR, this very fact will give the former director of the Antistikhiya NPO [scientific production association], whose dismissal the Moscow court declared illegal, chances of winning: Bolov intends to prove that he was prosecuted for political reasons.

The democrats are not nominating their candidate for the majority district. "It is more likely that we will support candidates of organizations that are closer to us—Yabloko, or the Republican Party [Respublikanskaya partiya]," said Zalim Murtazov.

The Yabloko candidate is Yuriy Bednev—the other cochairman of the Committee for Interethnic Relations of the parliament of the KBR.

The Kabardino-Balkaria branch of the Yavlinskiy bloc is submitting Boris Tlyanchev, its leader, and Anuar Gudanayev, chairman of the TVMK [not further identified] trade union committee on its federal list.

Aminat Uyanayeva, adviser to the president of the KBR, became one of the three female representatives of the North Caucasus region who are on the federal list of Women of Russia [Zhenshchiny Rossii].

After the recent demarche of Sergey Shakhray, leader of the PRES [Party of Russian Unity and Accord], apparently, it should be expected that the Kabardino-Balkaria organization of the PRES will leave Our Home. In such an event, the lists of candidates for the State Duma will be supplemented by PRES representatives.

KBR Candidates Attend NDR Congress

954F3382A Nalchik KABARDINO-BALKARSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 95 p 1

[Report by Marina Khapova: "Delegates Depart for Congress"]

[FBIS Translated Text] NDR [Russia Is Our Home] Kabardino-Balkar regional branch delegates left yesterday for Moscow, to participate in the second phase of the movement's congress. Among them are KBR [Kabardino-Balkar Republic] President V.M. Kokov; G.K. Pytov, KBR deputy prime minister (deputy chairman of the government) (and also chairman of the NDR's local branch); M.M. Gukhepshev, general director of the executive board of the KBR Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs; head of the Prokhladnyy city administration N.A. Maslov; and M.M. Ulbashev, cochairman of the KBR Parliament Interethnic Relations Committee.

Earlier, on 28 August, the KBR branch of the VOPD [all-Russia public political movement] Russia Is Our Home held a conference, which nominated from the single-mandate Electoral District No. 13 from the KBR V.K. Sokhov, KBR prime minister (chairman of the government), as candidate for deputy of the State Duma of the RF [Russian Federation] Federal Assembly.

For the federal election district slate (federal list), the local NDR branch nominated as candidates for the State Duma of the RF Federal Assembly L.F. Fedchenko, deputy chairman of the Republic Council of the KBR Parliament, and M.M. Ulbashev, cochairman of the KBR Parliament Interethnic Relations Committee.

It was envisaged that immediately after the conference NDR's local branch would invite to a "roundtable" representatives of the republic's public and political organizations. So far this meeting has not taken place. As NDR local branch chairman G.K. Pytov explained to a KABARDINO-BALKARSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent, the "roundtable" has not been canceled but simply postponed. Most likely it will take place after the NDR congress. We are still ready for such dialogue. I especially want to emphasize that a "roundtable" is a goodwill meeting. We will not force anyone to participate in it—we will simply invite all those who are thinking about Kabardino-Balkaria's future.

Economic Issues

Blame for Budget Crisis Falling on Taxpayers

[illegible]1209132995 Moscow IZVESTIYA (Financial Section) in Russian 12 Sep 95 p 1

[Article by Yevgeniy Vasilchuk: "Crisis in Tax and Budget System Will Halt Reforms"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The inadequacy of the Russian tax and budget system, which has been constantly talked about throughout the years of reform, has escalated into a crisis in the third quarter of 1995. Back in the first quarter, the Finance Ministry reported to the government that budget-system revenues were 0.3 percent above the planned indicator.

But in the early autumn, it suddenly transpired that the tax shortfall in April-August was 24 trillion rubles [R], including R4 trillion for July-August alone. This effectively increased by 25 percent the already hard-to-cover fiscal shortfall. To this can be boldly added the ephemeral R20 trillion in privatization proceeds.

Yet again the government is running the risk of making a very severe mistake. In the middle of the year, postponing financial stabilization until 1996 promised an extra R40 trillion in "inflationary" revenue for the budget system in 1995. This figure was sufficient, in conjunction with the amendment to the forecast GDP for 1996 and the sequestration of spending, to cut the budget deficit to 4.6 percent of GDP. But the optimism seems to have been premature. Even taking account of the outwardly good results of budget execution in the first half of 1995.

The government is now looking for culprits, threatening to punish disobedient taxpayers, and seriously planning to "take action" against uppity enterprises in the fuel and energy complex, rail transportation, and the financial and credit sphere.

The Russian state has declared all-out war on taxpayers. Yet common sense suggests that the emergence of a fatal hole in the budget cannot be put down to taxpayers having become an order of magnitude smarter than fiscal organs over the past few months. Pretty often the authorities themselves have either made various allowances or are making decisions whose implementation deliberately runs counter to the stated policy of financial stabilization. A vivid example of that is the elimination and subsequent effective restoration of the concessions for foreign economic activity. Another case is the establishment of "special" relations between the center and a good dozen by no means disaster-stricken regions, and the abolition of some and the creation of other "free" economic zones.

The direct cause of the unrestrained widening of the hole in the budget is the lack of privatization proceeds and last year's government decision to allow enterprises to use 30 percent of their current revenue to pay wages. The plan guidelines for funding the budget deficit by increasing domestic and foreign debt are not holding up either.

But there is another, macroeconomic, explanation. In the context of the budget restrictions that were quite mechanically whipped up in 1995, the economy's natural reaction is to reduce the flow of funds built up by the budget system in the opposite direction — that is, taxes. And the tougher the action the government takes on the macroeconomic front, the more resolute will be the rebuff from economic players at the micro level.

But that is the theory. In practice it is unlikely to be possible to salvage the 1995 budget now, even though revenue to the budget system usually increases considerably in the fourth quarter. The Finance Ministry's promises to obtain 22 percent more revenue than planned in 1995 are underpinned by pretty shaky macroeconomic foundations and are difficult to back up by the actual development of events. The government has fallen into a stabilization trap. Financial stabilization is impossible without narrowing the fiscal gap. For its part, this will require the kinds of deviations from a tough monetary policy which are likely to provoke hyperinflation.

On the other hand, a number of tough monetary and fiscal decisions already made and being prepared by the authorities threaten to finish off outwardly prosperous economic sectors.

The funds that have been concealed from the fiscal services one way or another are not being hidden by the taxpayers in money boxes. They are servicing economic turnover, and the reproduction of resources, and are maintaining aggregate demand. This, incidentally, is one of the reasons why, with a tough or even crude budgetary policy in 1995, the economy is witnessing a steady decline in the rate of the industrial slump and a certain increase in profitability levels. If the government goes into the last few months of the year punitively redistributing around R50 trillion in domestic product, then the stabilization trend will be wrecked.

The state could now take money from the fuel and energy complex, transport workers, the banks, the regions, and so forth. But afterward there would be nowhere else to get money from. The first quarter of 1996 threatens to see the collapse of the Russian tax and budget system. Maintaining the exchange-rate band and continuing the "dear money" policy, the budget will be choked in debt. And then the government will find itself tempted to restore total control over its financial flows.

Execution of Federal Budget (Trillions of Rubles)

	Ratified budget for 1995	Outturn as of 1 July 1995	As percentage of ratified budget for 1995
Revenue of which	175.2	80.1	45.7
tax revenue of which:	127.9	66.4	51.9
profits tax	23.8	17.5	73.5
income tax on individuals	2.8	1.2	42.9
VAT	49.6	25.4	51.2
excise duty	9.7	5.9	60.8
nontax revenue of which:	32.0	13.7	42.8
revenue from foreign economic activity	11.2	10.0	89.3
Expenditure of which for:	248.3	80.4	32.2
state administration	3.9	1.8	46.2
international activity	21.0	6.9	32.9
national defense	48.6	18.2	37.4

	Ratified budget for 1995	Outturn as of 1 July 1995	As percentage of ratified budget for 1995
law-enforcement activity and safeguarding security	15.0	7.8	52.0
industry, power generation, and construction	31.2	11.0	35.3
agriculture and fisheries	9.3	3.6	38.7

(Source: Russian Ministry of Finance)

Duma Unlikely To Approve Present Form of 96 Budget

LD1209162095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1348 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, August 12 (FIA-INTERFAX) — The Russian State Duma will not approve the 1996 draft budget envisaging a 1.2% inflation rate, head of the house budgetary and financial committee Mikhail Zadornov told INTERFAX's Financial Information Agency on Tuesday.

Referring to the deputies' mood, he said the budget would have to be recalculated in terms of this year's background inflation of 3%-5% a month.

For his part, Gennadiy Kulik of the working group on budget debate in an interview with FIA accused the government of pursuing populist goals by deliberately lowering projected inflation targets in the run-up to the December poll and seeking to lay hands on huge resources from state reserves outside parliamentary control in 1996.

In the meantime, Deputy Finance Minister Vladimir Petrov spoke of the government's commitment to projected inflation targets and basic macroeconomic indicators laid down in the budget which had been reaffirmed by the president's budget address and by the Russian prime minister.

On Zadornov's demand for budget recalculation, he said this was a serious question and would have to be reported back to the government in the future because it would take at least six weeks.

The Duma group on the 1996 budget meets again on Friday.

Daily Examines Edict on Conversion Problems

MK1209132795 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 12 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by Vladislav Borodulin under the "Conversion" rubric: "The Government is Once Again Trying To Square the Circle"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the end of last weekend, Boris Yeltsin signed an edict with an extremely lengthy and distinctly bureaucratic title. It was devoted to adjusting the procedure for transferring budget loans for conversion-related projects. However, despite the trappings of a routine document, which the presidential staff generates in the thousands, the edict has sparked a fairly lively public debate between the Finance Ministry and the State Defense Industry Committee.

The crux of the presidential edict "On Opening Individual Current Accounts To Account for Federal Budget Funds Lent at Interest To Finance Conversion and Investment Programs" is fairly simple. The money earmarked in the federal budget to finance conversion loans (1.4 trillion rubles in 1995) will from now on be transferred directly to enterprises. For this purpose they will be allowed to open budget accounts in authorized commercial banks. These accounts will not be closed at the end of a financial year, and theoretically, literally on 2 January, a defense enterprise will be able to continue using budget funds in order to convert its production for civilian uses.

The first person who had time to comment on Boris Yeltsin's edict was an official of the Federal Treasury. Judging by his words, the edict is designed to take on the agencies that distribute conversion loans, namely, the State Defense Industry Committee and the Atomic Energy Ministry ("their" enterprises account for more than 80 percent of all conversion programs in Russia). The Treasury staffer asserts that this document will make it possible "to abandon the mediatory functions of the ministries, which often finance conversion programs from the leftovers of their funds." Moreover, in his view, this procedure will completely rule out the possibility of lending state money over and over again.

Vladislav Fadeyev, administration chief of the State Defense Industry Committee, expressed a diametrically opposed view. In his words, it was precisely the defense agencies that insisted on the adoption of this edict, because it restores the procedure that existed before 1995. Because this procedure was put on hold, virtually no conversion credits have been released. Now it is necessary to release a huge amount of money in the period left until the year's end so as to reach at least the historically established figure of 42 percent of the budget target.

Which of the bureaucrats is right? We do not think this is actually that important. The thing is that the government is once again trying to "square the circle," a problem of the domestic defense sector's conversion that Economy Minister Yevgeniy Yasin once formulated as follows: "How to make up for a lack of money with organizational tricks." Evidently, the problem cannot be resolved either in its traditional or in its current form.

Not just because the government is chronically short of money. There will never be enough money, for even if one treasury bureaucrat is placed behind every director's back, there will always be a possibility to spend a cheap loan on something other than a conversion project. It cannot be resolved, because it is the defense enterprises alone that need conversion in this country — and that only because they have no other choice at a time when the government flatly refuses to buy arms. Meanwhile, the rest of the economy needs military technology as much as a horse-driven cart needs a built-in computer — too wide is the technological gap between the defense sector and the remaining part of the engineering industry. So even references to American-style conversion are pointless, because there was real demand for converted military production there.

Directive No. 1166 on Moscow Economic Conference

MM1309090195 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Sep 95 p 6

[Russian Federation Government directive No. 1166, signed by Russian Federation Government Chairman V. Chernomyrdin and dated Moscow, 26 August]

[FBIS Translated Text] 1. The proposal by the Russian Ministry of the Economy and the Russian Federation Government Commission for Economic Reform to hold a scientific-practical conference on "Ways To Develop Russia's Economy in 1995-1997" (hereinafter "the conference") in Moscow 21-22 September is accepted.

The appended list of members of the organizing committee for preparing and holding the conference (hereinafter "the organizing committee") is approved.

2. The Russian Ministry of the Economy and the Higher School of Economics are to ensure the preparation of the necessary materials and the holding of the conference.

3. The Russian Ministry of Finance is to ensure funding for the expenditure on organizing and holding the conference within the limits of the estimate approved by the organizing committee chairman, charging it as sundry expenditure against the 1995 federal budget.

4. ITAR-TASS, the "Russian Public Television" Joint-Stock Company, and the All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company are instructed to collaborate with the organizing committee in publicizing the conference's work.

5. Organs of executive power in Russian Federation components are instructed to collaborate with the organizing committee in the holding of the conference.

[signed] Russian Federation Government Chairman V. Chernomyrdin

List of Members of the Organizing Committee for Preparing and Holding the Scientific-Practical Conference on "Ways to Develop Russia's Economy in 1995-1997"

A.B. Chubays, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government (chairman of the organizing committee)

Ye.G. Yasin, Russian Federation minister of the economy (deputy chairman of the organizing committee)

V.G. Panskov, Russian Federation minister of finance

S.A. Vasilyev, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government Commission for Economic Reform and Russian Federation first deputy minister of the economy

D.V. Vasilyev, deputy chairman of the Federal Commission for Securities and the Stock Market under the Russian Federation Government

A.A. Khandruyev, deputy chairman of the Bank of Russia

Yu.A. Yurkov, chairman of the Russian State Committee for Statistics

M.M. Zadornov, chairman of a State Duma Committee (by agreement)

L.I. Abalkin, director of a Russian Academy of Sciences institute

D.S. Lvov, deputy director of the Russian Academy of Sciences Central Economics-Mathematical Institute

M.Yu. Kopeykin, leader of a Russian Ministry of the Economy department

G.O. Kuranov, leader of a Russian Ministry of the Economy department

Ya.I. Kuzminov, rector of the Higher School of Economics

Soskovets Encourages Investment at Urals Council

LD1209131195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1057 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TYUMEN, Sept 12 (INTERFAX) — The Russian government will work to create a favorable climate for effective investments, Russia's First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets told the Council of the Urals Economic Coordination Association in Tyumen, Tuesday.

He said this will be achieved through lowering inflation and making institutional changes, all of which will diminish investment risks, ensure economic stability and promote entrepreneurship.

He said, at the same time, that in the first half of 1995 some socioeconomic problems were not solved. Investment activity was not intensified and economic restructuring was not accelerated either.

The federal budget is not properly implemented, taxes and other payments do not arrive on time and the revenues from selling state and municipal property were smaller than expected, said Soskovets.

The need has arisen firstly to regulate the operation of natural monopolies and control price and tariff rises on their output and services, he went on to say.

The government failed to stop the decrease in the population's real incomes in the first half of the year, said Soskovets.

Goskomimushchestvo Reveals Phantom Privatizations

MM1309095995 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Sep 95 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Corridors of Power" rubric: "Ownership. Privatization in Rural Areas Only Taking Place on Paper"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The privatization of enterprises in the Russian agro-industrial complex is proceeding at a fairly brisk pace, but this process often only takes place on paper. Evidence of this is in a report by the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property [Goskomimushchestvo], presented at a conference in Moscow on 8-9 September entitled "Food and Agrarian Policy in Russia: Future Prospects for Improvements in the Investment Climate." According to Goskomimushchestvo figures, by 1 August more than 300,000 autonomous economic entities had been created in Russia's agrarian sector (there were only around 28,000 in the country before the reforms). However, up to 80 percent of the country's agricultural enterprises have only reorganized themselves on paper.

Company Shares To Be Security for Government Loans

MM1309102395 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Sep 95 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Corridors of Power" rubric: "Projects. Banks Want To Steer Industry"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property has confirmed and sent the Russian Presidential Staff a list of enterprises whose shares will be transferred to banks as security for loans to the Russian Federation Government. The shares of 44 enterprises from various sectors of industry are on the list. The shares will be transferred to the banks as security as a result of a tender, whose main condition will be the size of the loan granted to the Russian Federation Government. According to a press service announcement, the size of the loan will be around 2 trillion rubles. The winner of the tender will receive the right to manage blocks of shares of leading Russian companies.

Excise Duty Rise May 'Collapse' Hydrocarbon Exports

MK1309064395 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 12 Sep 95 p 7

[Unattributed report by the Oil Information Agency: "An Increase in Oil Excise Duty Threatens a Collapse of Exports"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An increase in the rates of the oil excise duty will cause "a collapse" of the export of hydrocarbons from Russia and a drastic surge in oil and oil product prices on the domestic market, a high-level official of the Russian Federation Fuel and Energy Ministry said. Commenting on possible consequences of the planned excise duty increase on oil produced on Russian soil in proportion to the lowering of export duties, he noted that "by so doing the interested departments of the Russian Federation — the Finance Ministry and the Economy Ministry — are trying to compensate for what has been underpaid to the budget in export proceeds by increasing the oil companies' tax burden." At the same time, the Fuel and Energy Ministry official stressed, "the March governmental decree No.

304 provided for excise rates to be raised by 3,400 rubles [R] per tonne when export duties on oil and condensate are lowered by one ECU at an exchange rate of R6,000-R7,000 per dollar." In conditions of a "currency corridor," he said, raising the excise duty will bring about a situation where "domestic oil and oil product prices will be considerably higher than world prices." Moreover, the expert added, the customs duty applies only to exported raw materials, that is, about 30 percent of the oil produced in Russia, while the excise duty is levied on every tonne of oil produced. Not only will the oil enterprises be unable to improve their financial position, but they will have to pay an extra sum in taxes to the budget," he thinks.

The Fuel and Energy Ministry agrees that the export duty should be retained in 1996, provided it is lowered to 14 ECU's and the excise duty on oil produced is not raised. The 1996 draft budget, however, provides for a customs duty of 10 ECU's per tonne of oil with the average excise rate of R75,000 per tonne. At present, under the governmental decree No. 858 of 31 August, the Finance Ministry, together with the Fuel and Energy Ministry, the Economics Ministry, the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry, and the State Customs Committee, is drawing up proposals for adjusting the rate of the oil export customs duty to be accompanied by a concurrent rise in differentiated excise rates.

Ruble Peg Harming Machinery, Metallurgy Exports

MK1309064295 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 12 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by Elmar Murtazayev: "It Has Been Decided To Protect Mechanical Engineering Exports. Under the Present Currency Rate, 80 Percent of Metallurgy Products Bring No Profit"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, a regular meeting of branch exporters' unions was held at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations [MFER] to discuss problems of developing Russian exports and promoting mechanical engineering products on world markets. According to Yevgeniy Tikhonov, head of the MFER Directorate for Relations With the Federal Assembly, under the current taxation system, after-tax profit on many high-technology products is nonexistent. There is no investment in the branch, either: Of the 1.5 trillion rubles of state investment planned in the 1995 budget, enterprises have received only about 500 billion. It is no wonder that the volume of exports in the machine-building industry has fallen almost four times as compared with 1990, and in 1994 it accounted for only 4.9 percent of all exports. As for the world market, in Mr. Tikhonov's words, Russia accounts for as little as 0.2 percent of all sales.

The program of "supporting and stimulating" exports of mechanical engineering products considered at the meeting envisions preferential funding of the sectors manufacturing competitive products. In addition, a number of protectionist measures are to be taken to shield producers on the domestic market using the recently created commission on protective measures under the Russian Federation Government.

During the meeting, some representatives of exporters' unions started discussing the government's "currency corridor" policy. The discussion was initiated by people from raw materials sectors, whose production now constitutes the bulk of Russian exports. According to Sergey Stepanov of the union of timber exporters, who called the currency corridor a "killer," since the ruble-dollar rate stabilized monthly timber export figures have fallen by 20 to 25 percent. Mr. Stepanov believes that, under such a policy, by the end of the year the volume of timber exports will go down by 45 to 50 percent.

Sergey Petrik, representing the union of exporters and producers of ferrous metals, was even more radical in his assessments. According to him, some enterprises in his sector are already on the brink of bankruptcy. While the prices for energy carriers and the rates for transportation and electrical energy have risen by 70-80 percent since the beginning of the year, prices for metallurgical products have grown by only 12 percent. Experts of the metallurgical union reckon that the present currency rate renders 80 percent of the whole metallurgical industry unprofitable. According to Mr. Petrik, the "realistic" rate is 5,500-5,600 rubles per dollar, whereas a lower rate makes exports unprofitable.

Economic Indicators for 1995 Show Decline From 1994

MM1209145595 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 95 p 1

[Report by Viktor Trushkov: State Department Working More Successfully Than...Oil Workers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian State Committee for Statistics has summed up the country's industrial results in the period January to August 1995. In current prices the figures make impressive reading: Output amounted to 584 trillion rubles. But the string of nothings in this final result are certainly no indicator of economic achievements. Here are the real figures. Electricity generation this year is 11 billion kilowatt hours down on the same eight months of last year. Coal production has fallen by 5 percent, oil production by 3 percent, and gas production by 2 percent.... In other words, even the fuel and energy complex, the pet of the present government and the premier personally, is in steady decline. Meanwhile, deliveries of oil and gas to the far abroad are rising steadily.

Contrary to the facts, however, they assure us that the reforms are proceeding successfully. For whom?

Thomas Simons, the U.S. State Department's coordinator on questions of U.S. aid to the CIS, delivered a report to the recent U.S. Congressional hearings on the progress of privatization in Russia (?). Among other things he stated: "We are working day in, day out to support the CIS and promote U.S. foreign policy goals on the territory of the former Soviet Union."

The Russian Federation State Committee for Statistics confirms yet again that the U.S. State Department is doing a good job.

Labor Minister Mekikyan on Wages, Unemployment

954F3388A Moscow OGONEK in Russian No. 35, Aug 95 pp 24-25

[Interview with Russian Federation Minister of Labor Gennadiy Melikyan by Andrey Kolesnikov and Yuriy Rytov; place and date not given: "Gennadiy Melikyan: 'Wage Indexation Must Outpace Price Increases'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Gennadiy Melikyan is one of a small number of ministers who have been around for a long time. He took charge of the Ministry of Labor in June 1992, back in the days of Gaydar. Despite heading such a "hot" department, despite the fact that the social situation cannot be called good and the minister of labor might well have fallen prey to one of the many tactical shuffles that took place in the government, this economist who began "to effect reform" together with Yavlinskiy in the famous Council of Ministers "Abalkin Commission" continues his work, and has even achieved a mutual understanding with leaders of the financial and economic departments who have never favored the social sphere. Melikyan has become one of the foremost figures in the Russia Is Our Home movement. But now the time of the "social-ers" has come. Up until now, Gennadiy Melikyan has been working on resolving not the critical problems, but rather the drab ones, as he expresses it. The minister of labor finds himself between the "rock" of departments that are pursuing a tight financial policy and the "hard place" of trade unions and employees in the budget-financed sphere.

[OGONEK] Gennadiy Georgiyevich, what is causing the biggest headache for the minister of labor at present?

[Melikyan] The most significant problem is population income, and its chief component—wages. Look at what happened. We attempted in fact to balance the budget and suppress inflation by restricting monetary income of the populace. But clearly we went too far! Teachers, doctors, all those who subsist from the budget find themselves in a disastrous predicament. Along with them, all those people whose wages are tied to the minimum budget wage scale—employees of the state apparatus, military servicemen, students, individuals on social pension...and so on.

At the same time, while holding back wages in the social sphere, we hit workers in the production sector hard as well. The fact of the matter is that there exists a tax at enterprises, and quite a heavy one, on wage fund excess above the norm. And everything is again tied to the minimum wage. If in the final analysis the wage fund exceeds six minimum wage rates on a per-worker basis, additional taxes will amount to 35-38 percent of enterprise profits. It has come to pass that here too, in the production sector, wages are being artificially held back.

[OGONEK] Are urgent corrections being made to the situation?

[Melikyan] As you know, effective 1 August the minimum wage was increased to 55,000 rubles [R] a month. The increment does not seem to be all that significant since the last indexation (1 April 1995—Ed.)—just 26 percent. But one must note that prices in the consumer market over this same period rose by approximately 20 percent. Thus, for the first time in many years we see wage indexation outpacing—albeit not by much—the growth of prices.

This principle will henceforth constitute the basis of our social policy—from now on, WAGE INDEXATION WILL OUTPACE PRICE INCREASES.

Today Anatoliy Borisovich (Chubays—Ed.) and Aleksandr Yakovlevich (Livshits—Ed.) have finally begun to provide us support. There is no need to hide the fact that there has existed a confrontation between the financial-economic and social departments that will probably always exist. If a course is charted towards rigid financial policy—citizens, tighten your belts a bit more. But such a maneuver cannot be repeated indefinitely—we do not have enough buckle holes in our belts. Intelligent people have long understood this.

[OGONEK] But are there sufficient funds in the budget to ensure conduct of this declared policy—income indexation surpassing price increases?

[Melikyan] Some R5.7 trillion in the budget has been allocated to these ends. In addition, we are relying on additional sources of financing. I am personally convinced that the revenues portion of the budget will be implemented with a surplus. Why? First of all, inflation is higher than envisaged. This means proceeds to the budget will be greater. Secondly, the production decline is lower than what was expected. This too will provide for additional proceeds to the budget. True, one particular factor comes into play here. According to the presently existing rules, all additional budgetary assets must be distributed across all budget lines. So—we intend to break this rule (in which regard, incidentally, Livshits is providing us tremendous support). We prepared and submitted to the Duma a draft law according to which all additional budgetary assets could be used only to meet social needs.

[OGONEK] In our unenlightened view, the prospect of increasing population income has not just tremendous social significance, but great overall economic significance as well....

[Melikyan] Absolutely correct. After the heavy drop in population income and retail commodity volume in 1992, we strove to gradually compensate for this drop. This was the case until about September 1994 when real income rose to the level of approximately 70 percent of pre-reform indices. But then, through March of this year inclusively, incomes started to fall appreciably. This could not help but have an impact on the effective demand of the populace, which decreased. Naturally, commodity turnover volume also began to decrease. This led to increased production decline, first in the consumer sector, and then everywhere in the chain. Of course, we must take into account the foreign economic aspect in this regard. But on the whole, domestic effective demand was compressed to such an extent that impulses for development of the economy were sharply weakened. If the populace does not need commodities, why produce them? The decline in commodity turnover strikes the economy directly. And sensible specialists now came to realize this simple truth.

[OGONEK] We are talking about growth in population income. But to date, the populace has not been able to obtain all the money it has in fact earned....

[Melikyan] If this is not problem number one, it is at least number two. Here is how matters are shaping up. Wage indebtedness in the budget-financed sector as of 1 July was approximately R200 billion. Today we have fully paid off this debt. But this applies only to indebtedness in the federal budget sector. Indebtedness in the territories still remains—and in certain regions it is quite large.

The situation is the production sector is more complicated. Here wage indebtedness has been constantly rising in recent times and today amounts to R6.4 trillion. To a significant degree, we ourselves are to blame. We held back payments to the coal miners, defense industry workers.... But these people are connected with all the other sectors in the technological chain. Thus, failure resulted in the remaining sectors as well. The situation is further exacerbated, to an extreme, by the reciprocal nonpayments problem in settlements between enterprises.

I will state quite frankly that we are now trying to use administrative methods to influence nonpayers. We are turning to the procuracy, to local administrations, etc. Methods such as these are not intrinsic to market relations, of course, but we are still a long way away from a civilized market, unfortunately.

[OGONEK] Let us turn to the next global problem—unemployment. Is it not disturbing that we see an inconsistency in the figures characterizing unemployment?

[Melikyan] No. The inconsistency in the figures can be explained by the fact that they are reflecting different processes. There are people who have come to the employment service and officially registered as unemployed. There are on the order of 2 million such individuals today. Indeed, according to international criteria the number is significantly greater—encompassing the entire portion of the economically active population that is not entered, once again—officially, on the rolls. There are 5.7 million such individuals.

[OGONEK] Is not such a level of unemployment fraught with social consequences?

[Melikyan] In this instance we are using average figures across the country. But the numbers of unemployed are distributed extremely unevenly by region. We have territories in which the numbers of unemployed reach 12 and 15 percent of the entire able- bodied populace. Of course, such a level elicits great anxiety. Especially since it is not all that simple to reduce it.

Where are the main bastions of unemployment? They are mainly in those industrial centers where enterprises of light industry and the defense industry are located. In other words, the sectors that suffered the greatest decline (in light industry, for example, employment was cut in half). You are right—in such instances we should not be talking about social tension, but rather about social danger.

Unfortunately, the operation of our employment service is as yet quite unsophisticated. What am I referring to? The fight against unemployment may proceed in two directions. The first is the passive direction, in other words, simply the provision of material support to people deprived of work, the payment of applicable benefits. This is very important. But need it be proved that this approach cannot get us very far? The second direction is the active one—retention of job positions and the introduction of new ones, occupational training, incentives for small business, social projects, etc. All these are measures of a preventive nature which must be put into effect before people lose their jobs. Perhaps the Law on Depressed Areas just now drafted will be able to help in some way.

So, in principle, there is money in the employment fund for such actions. But that is if we are speaking in general terms. "In real life," the money is distributed extremely unevenly. In areas where the situation is relatively good and where enterprises are operating, deductions to the employment fund are large and outlays for unemployment compensation are not too large. Consequently, the opportunity exists to carry out active measures. But in regions where the situation is bad, there are not enough funds to conduct active measures. On the federal level, only 20 percent of the funds received are used, but it is a very complicated matter to redistribute the remainder.

What do we get as a result? Employment fund assets accumulate in the very successful regions. And we have shortages in the regions where unemployment is high. An example is Arkhangelsk Oblast. Unemployment here has increased sharply in recent months. But there is no money for active, preventive measures—it has all gone for the payment of unemployment compensation.

The time has come to abolish this system, of course. Right now we are engaged in appropriate consultations with the regions and trade unions. All the same, the chief means of fighting unemployment is to increase production.

True, our country has its own particular features. For example, growth of unemployment does not depend directly on the rate of production decline. Our production over the past five years has been reduced almost to half, while the numbers of people employed have dropped only 10 percent.... I believe that increased production, in its initial stage, will not bring about increased employment numbers. Moreover, unemployment can grow. I only hope that we will quickly get past this stage. Then when we begin to see overall recovery in the economy, at that time I hope the problem will be resolved.

International Affairs

Zlenko Calls For Ending NATO Bombing of Serbs

WS1209090795 Kiev INTELNEWS in English
0027 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, Sept. 11 — Anatoliy Zlenko, Ukraine's representative to the United Nations organization, at the U.N. Security Council sitting proposed a halt to the bombardment of Bosnian Serbs by NATO and U.N. Rapid Reaction Forces, the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry reported Monday [11 September].

Zlenko grounded the necessity of this step by saying "the United Nations would encourage a better climate in the negotiations by doing so."

Speaking to the council, the Ukrainian representative appealed to the leaders of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia to hold negotiations in Kiev.

Croatian President Agrees To Attend Kiev Talks

LD1209170595 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian
1600 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev [no date as received] — Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has given his formal consent to attend talks on a peace settlement in former Yugoslavia, which Ukraine has proposed to be held in Kiev with all interested parties. This was announced by Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Minister Volodymyr Khandogy at a briefing in Kiev.

Move Toward NATO Continues Despite Yeltsin Proposal

LD1209210295 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian
1700 GMT 12 Sep 95

[Video report by correspondent Natalya Kondratyuk, including recorded comments by Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Yeltsin has put forward the idea of creating a military bloc of countries of the former USSR. Ukraine did not like this idea. Ukraine is persistently moving toward joining NATO. President Kuchma said today that Russia is pushing it toward this.

[Correspondent Natalya Kondratyuk] We have not deviated by a single letter from the Sochi Agreement. The main thing is that the talks process should continue at a governmental level. This was said by the Ukrainian president today in response to a question about the reasons behind Boris Yeltsin's rather critical assessment of Russo-Ukrainian relations.

[Kuchma] If the policy continues of not viewing countries such as Ukraine as a real partner, then the situation will not improve, it will deteriorate. Absolutely everything is for us being at peace with Russia, in the first instance, being good-neighborly and friendly. Nothing else is possible.

[Kondratyuk] It would seem that NATO sees Ukraine as a partner with full equality of rights. This is borne out by the signing of a special cooperation program that is to take place in Brussels in two days time and the visit by Lieutenant General Helge Hansen, the commander in chief of the NATO forces in Europe, to Kiev. Leonid Kuchma thinks that such attention stems from NATO's increased trust in Ukraine. In experts' opinions, the particular opinion of Ukraine on a number of issues has played a major role here as did its initiative on holding talks between Karadzic, Milosevic, and Izetbegovic in Kiev.

As for setting up a military bloc based on the post-Soviet republics, Leonid Kuchma today stressed that Ukraine has proclaimed itself a neutral state and it will keep this status despite the fact that such a burden is sometimes quite heavy to bear.

Shmarov: Do Not Expect Rapid NATO Expansion

LD1209181295 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1607 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Sept 12 (INTERFAX-UKRAINE) — Ukrainian Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov told INTERFAX-UKRAINE in Kiev Tuesday [12 September] that no rapid NATO expansion to the East should be expected.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin's fears of NATO enlargement are unfounded and were designed to impress the electorate, he added.

Yeltsin had pointed out the danger of NATO expansion to the East at a news conference in Moscow on September 8. He cited its intervention in the situation in the Balkans as an example.

According to Shmarov, many of East and Central European applicants, including Poland, Hungary and Rumania, will have to wait a long time to join NATO. At the same time, "NATO sincerely tries not to upset those countries so as to prevent them from turning to another side," he added.

"Eastern Europe and Ukraine seem to be doomed to play the part of a buffer zone," he stated.

Shmarov approved the NATO-sponsored program Partnership for Peace saying "such a soft form of political and military cooperation enabled other countries to interact with NATO."

Talks Between Marchuk, Israel's Rabin Continue

LD1209180395 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian
1600 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — Meeting Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin at the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 12 September, Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevheniy Marchuk said that the visit by the Israeli head of state would further contribute to what had been achieved in relations between both countries, UNIAN has learned from the cabinet press service.

Marchuk told Rabin about the socioeconomic situation in Ukraine, adding that that country had an interest in learning from Israeli experience how to reform industry and ownership, introduce novel technologies, improve education, and establish a welfare system.

The sides discussed a wide range of subjects on cooperation between Ukraine and Israel in machine-building, medicine, and agriculture. To promote this cooperation will be the responsibility of a Ukrainian-Israeli permanent intergovernmental commission set up.

Marchuk thanked Rabin for assistance in the medical treatment in Israel of Ukrainian children from the areas affected by radioactive contamination.

Marchuk, Rabin Sign Accords

LD1209202495 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian
1800 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — On 12 September, Ukraine and Israel signed a joint statement and memorandum on the liberalization of trade, an accord on the abolition of visas for diplomatic passport users, and an intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in health protection and medical sciences.

After the signature of the documents, Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevheniy Marchuk said that, with 16 agreements and other documents in force to regulate relations between Ukraine and Israel, the potential for cooperation was far from being exhausted.

Marchuk added that work continued on a number of other documents, including an accord to avoid double taxation and extend trade and economic relations between Ukraine and Israel.

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin invited Marchuk to pay an official visit to Israel.

Rabin Briefs Marchuk on Danger of Iran

TA1209170595 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew
1500 GMT 12 Sep 95

[Report from Ukraine by political correspondent Udi Segal]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] During his political talks with Ukrainian leaders, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin raised what he considers to be the greatest present danger, namely Iran. Ukraine is in the possession of stockpiles of nuclear materials and weapons that remained here from the days of the USSR. Despite the fact that Prime Minister Marchuk signed an agreement on transferring all the nuclear weapons to Russia, the danger of these weapons' reaching Tehran is still not over. This is what Major General Dani Yatom, Rabin's military adviser, has to say about the issue:

[Begin Yatom recording] We should certainly do everything we can to prevent cooperation between Ukraine and Iran. I hope this visit will, among other things, bear such fruit. The Ukrainians told us that their cooperation with Iran is purely of an economic nature. I hope it does not become anything beyond this. [end recording]

This issue will also be raised during Rabin's meetings in Russia.

Ukrainian Premier Marchuk spoke about tightening the economic and security cooperation. He regards Israel as a bridge to the international market and to the rehabilitation of his country's economy. He wants his farmers to stop their black market purchases of armored personnel carriers and tanks, which are being used for no less than plowing their wheat fields.

Rabin on Extradition, Iranian Nuclear Ties

TA1309065795 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew
0500 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin will today meet Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma and will visit the Jewish community institutions in Kiev. Yesterday Israel and Ukraine signed trade and tourism agreements; this morning a bilateral customs agreement will be signed.

Our correspondent Hayim Hecht reports the prime minister is offering his hosts several economic deals, among them upgrading Soviet weapons possessed by Ukraine. Mr. Rabin hinges Israeli economic and business aid, however, on a complete cessation of nuclear relations between Ukraine and Iran.

[Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew on 13 September publishes on pages 1 and 19 a report by political correspondent Shim'on Schiffer which adds: "Rabin has received assurances that Ukraine is not directly involved with Iran in issues that are, according to him, 'sensitive for us.' Rabin was referring to Iran's efforts to purchase from Ukraine nuclear know-how and equipment.

["The prime minister said that despite Russia's promises not to sell Iran nuclear know-how and reactors for military purposes, the issue worries Israel, because Iran will nevertheless attain information that it would not get its hands on any other way.

["Rabin also expressed his fear that individual Russian experts may be helping Iran in the nuclear weapons field, even if they were originally slated to deal only with civilian issues.

["Rabin emphasized that it is Israel's duty to deal with the issue publicly and to raise it with the Russians. Indeed, Rabin intends to raise the issue in his meetings with the Russian prime minister and the defense and foreign ministers today."]

Addressing correspondents in Kiev, the prime minister said the nonextradition of the two Wadi al-Qilt murderers does not constitute a violation of the agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. Rabin added, however, that it is not commensurate with the spirit of the agreement. He added that the murderers will be imprisoned by the Palestinians for seven years, while in Israel there have been cases in which such murderers were imprisoned for only four years.

Shmarov Comments on Visit by Israeli Prime Minister

LD1309104995 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian
0800 GMT 13 Sep 95

[Correspondent Natalya Kondratyuk video report]

[FBIS Translated Text] The visit by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin to Kiev has a more specific aim besides discussion of a set of general questions and signing an agreement on political cooperation: it is planned that signing an agreement on freeing trade and opening a chamber of commerce will be a concrete step toward this. Also at issue will be the modernization of weapons. Israel has high-quality electronics and Kiev has space systems. Ukrainian Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov stressed the following:

[Begin Shmarov recording] The Israeli position was expressed clearly enough by the prime minister: not stockpiling or developing new weapons, but modernization, that is, boosting the quality of equipment, less expenditure, less resources. [end recording]

Valeriy Shmarov said that the question of purchasing simple arms — for instance, firearms — was not discussed at all. Ukraine is not disinterested in the organizational principles of the Israeli armed forces. Starting from scratch, it now has an army that is capable of defending the nation.

Navy Participates in Partnership for Peace Exercises

WS1209090895 Kiev INTELNEWS in English
0027 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Simferopol, Sept. 11 — The Ukrainian Navy on Monday [11 September] reported that it was participating in the Cooperative Partner '95 military exercises that opened in Bulgaria from the Varna seaport on Sunday.

The patrol ship Hetman Sahaidachniy is representing Ukrainian naval forces at the exercises. Capt. Volodymyr Kuzmin, Ukrainian Naval Forces Headquarters deputy chief is heading the Ukrainian contingent.

The exercises are conducted within the NATO Partnership for Peace program. Navies from Bulgaria, Italy, Romania, Greece, the United States and Turkey are participating in the exercises, which will continue through Saturday.

National Affairs

Kuchma Defends Foreign Ministry Against Press Criticism

LD1209163495 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian
1330 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev, [no date as received] — "On the whole I am satisfied with the work of the Foreign Ministry and its chief, Hennadiy Udovenko [foreign minister], although, undoubtedly this ministry too has its faults," Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma told journalists when commenting on press criticism of the Foreign Ministry.

He noted that "we had never been an independent state, and so we lack specialists, especially diplomats." Kuchma is certain that there are forces behind the critical reports on the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry's negative role, who are interested in destabilizing the situation in Ukraine.

Tarasyuk Hits Back at Foreign Ministry Attacks

LD1209203695 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian
1825 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — Commenting on the article by Serhiy Nesterenko in the newspaper, VSEUKRAINSKIYE VYEDOMOSTI — "Do we have a Ministry of Foreign Affairs," published in the 167th issue of the newspaper on 8 September 1995, Borys Tarasyuk, first deputy foreign affairs minister, in particular, called it "an article written to order," where the order was carried out "unprofessionally and incompetently."

Attempts by the article's author "to pit the Ministry of Foreign Affairs against the presidential administration is tactless and groundless. We enjoy normal cooperation that is possible between the branches of power and permanent contact, and namely because of this we achieve indisputable successes for our country on the international stage." The publication, Mr. Tarasyuk said, caused concern among employees of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, and not only among the workers of the central apparatus, but also among the numerous employees of Ukraine's establishments abroad. In addition, it caused general anger. According to Tarasyuk, one could cite numerous examples whereby the author of the article demonstrated his ignorance of the existence and functioning of the executive authority, interaction between the individual branches of the executive authority, in particular with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the presidential administration. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is a branch of the executive authority and its place in the structure of the executive authority is clearly defined by both the Supreme Council and the Ukrainian president.

"The president, as head of state, represents Ukraine on the international arena. Presidential visits or receiving high-level delegations in Ukraine are the culmination of all the preparatory work between all branches of the executive authority, not only of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but also of other ministries and departments. The president of our state is an active person who pays quite a lot of attention not only to domestic issues, but also to foreign policy matters. This is understandable."

Borys Tarasyuk mentioned the "inspired work by employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, particularly, Hennadiy Udovenko. He assessed such an article as an attempt to cast a shadow on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The accusations contained in the article do not correspond to reality. It will be difficult to find a person in the Ukrainian diplomatic corps today [words indistinct] commented thus: "To compare Hennadiy Udovenko's experience, knowledge, and authority on the international stage with my modest self, then without doubt the former will outbalance the latter. I am saying this not only as a person subordinated to the minister, but as a colleague who worked with Hennadiy Udovenko for a long time both in the central apparatus and at Ukraine's permanent mission at the United Nations, and as a person who worked with him side-by-side for the whole of this past year."

"A younger person would envy the hard work and endurance of our minister and the energy he puts into his work. Attempts to pit the Ministry of Foreign Affairs against the presidential administration and cause arguments among its employees are tactless and immoral."

Parliament Opens Amid Executive-Legislature Friction

MM1209135795 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Sep 95 p 3

[Report by Grigoriy Grigoryev: "Constitutional Agreement in Jeopardy. What Have the First Days of the Ukrainian Parliament's Work Shown?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — The start of the parliamentary debates does not promise an easy life for the executive, and the legislators have every reason, to put it mildly, to doubt the validity of the optimism of the president and his team. Without touching on the foreign policy target, the communists, socialists, and agrarians will totally demolish the cheerful assurances of the president and the government members concerning the consistent progress of the economic reforms, stabilization in the financial sphere, production growth, and the positive trends that have appeared in agriculture.

Strictly speaking, Leonid Kuchma himself provided grounds to doubt the declared successes. If there were successes, then why did he bring about the resignation of the government, which, moreover, soon reappeared on the political arena almost in full?

Representatives of left-wing factions quite rightly focus attention on problems such as the total impunity of leaders of various confidential societies and trusts and leaders of profascist organizations, the drop in the population's real incomes against the background of the rapid enrichment of 2-3 percent of the country's citizens, and the perfectly obvious financial speculation of 14-16 August, as a result of which somebody earned tens of billions while the whole country was struck a new price blow. Residents of many Ukrainian cities are already gradually starting to get accustomed to the regular disconnection of gas, electricity, and water. Is it any wonder that the curve representing growth in dangerous infectious diseases in Ukraine is continuing to increase even in the fall?

Thus, on the very first day of the session's work after the end of the vacations parliament's left-wing factions made it absolutely clear that the constitutional agreement concluded between the two branches of power a few months ago is on the brink of being torn up.

Kuchma Loses Hope of Cooperating With Moroz

LD1209142295 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1230 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — To my great regret I am not counting on cooperating with Supreme Council Chairman Oleksandr Moroz following the remarks he made during a speech yesterday at the Institute for Improving the Qualifications of Employees of the State Administration and Local Self-government, although I will do everything to make this happen," Leonid Kuchma told journalists touching on the issue of mutual relations with parliament.

He noted that "not to have seen the government's economic programme and to say that it is worth nothing is not economics but politics."

Moroz Condemns Deputies for Boycotting Voting

LD1209153095 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1320 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — In an interview with UNIAN, Ukrainian Supreme Council Chairman Oleksandr Moroz described the stance of the three parliamentary groups which did not take part in electing the Constitutional Court members, as an endeavor to deprive the Ukrainian Supreme Council of the possibility of intervening in the economic reform process and in the legislative process in accordance with the functions determined by the constitutional treaty.

He believes that if the Constitutional Court is not formed, it is impossible to use the constitutional treaty as an effective instrument.

The parliament chairman rejected his opponents' argument that the completed court's first decision could be to revoke the constitutional treaty as unconstitutional. According to him, one could "define the court's remit during the period until a new constitution is adopted" in the law on the Constitutional Court.

"Those who did not take part in electing the Constitutional Court only say that they are democrats and that they are in favor of a division of powers. In truth this is demagogy," Oleksandr Moroz believes.

Nationalists Talk With Kuchma, Suspend Hunger Strike

LD1209180595 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1515 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ukrainian National Assembly [UNA] members who went on hunger strike yesterday have suspended the action after a meeting with President Leonid Kuchma, the organization's leader Dmytro Korchynskyy told a news conference at the UNA headquarters.

"There is no conflict between the UNA and the Justice Ministry, but there is a conflict between the UNA and the regime embodied by the president of Ukraine," he said. "This is the reason why the hunger strike was staged near the presidential administration."

President Kuchma met UNA representatives at 1330 today. He told them he had instructed Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk and the Ministry of Justice to analyze the situation that developed after the ministry's resolution of 6 September. The president added that a new justice minister, to be appointed in the next few days, will be asked to assess the situation.

The president promised the UNA to dismiss the acting justice minister and ensure that the organization was treated fairly. He said, however, that he was not empowered to authorize an increase in utility tariffs, which was one of the strikers' demands.

The UNA leadership decided to suspend the hunger strike for one week. The action will be resumed if President Kuchma fails to keep his promises.

Report Sees 'No Alternative' to Nuclear Plants

AU1209160195 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 8 Sep 95 p 1

[Report by Tetyana Kravchenko from Zaporizhzhya: "Atomic Electric Power Plants as Salvation From Makeshift Stoves"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Problems with the timely payments of salaries have not spared nuclear specialists in Zaporizhzhya; over the past two months, tension near cash-payment offices [salaries and wages are paid in cash at enterprises proper], just like at many other Ukrainian enterprises, and the nervous expectation for a happy day pervaded the atmosphere. The nonpayments crisis, after it has driven the entire state economy into the impasse, is now targeting individual enterprises and engendering social cataclysms.

The atomic specialists have found a way out of the difficult situation: They have proceeded to use local "electronic money." This is when a certain minimum is paid in cash, and the rest is deposited in the bank so that the checkbook may be used. This practice is not new on the nationwide scale, but it has become an unpleasant discovery for some old women who earn their living by growing and selling vegetables — their incomes decreased right away. Bank checks are only accepted in stores.

Generally speaking, atomic specialists themselves have become convinced that things may be simpler if they use conventional money, because in that case they can also bargain. However, this is far from being the main concern in the nuclear town of Enerhodar in expectation of winter. The attention of all local workers is focused on the forthcoming commissioning of the sixth power unit — for some people, this means more jobs and for others — better prospects in the plant's operation and, consequently, implementation of social programs. An absolute majority of Enerhodar residents are convinced that the commissioning of the new power unit will considerably relieve the difficult energy situation in Ukraine on the eve of a new winter.

The commissioning of the new million-kilowatt-hours power unit is planned for the end of the current year. According to Serhiy Teplov, deputy general director of the plant, it is unprecedented on the territory of the former USSR in terms of technological characteristics and safety provisions, and even the Americans would not mind having such equipment.

It is difficult to say whether this sounds reassuring to anybody. After the Chernobyl disaster, all of us suffer from radiophobia, and even the best substantiated reasoning will not move us. However, we do seem ripe for a certain compromise with atomic power engineering. All the more so since in conditions of the energy supply crisis and open blackmail in questions of gas supply and prices, an additional million kilowatt-hours will not be unwelcome in our country. At any rate, in a critical situation with the "blue fuel" [gas], we will have a chance to switch on an electric cooker — this is a little better than a "burzhuyka" [small iron makeshift stove].

Incidentally, a plant in Zaporizhzhya recently started mass producing such stoves — this is probably a hint that electricity may not suffice. This may well be the case: Just look at the statistics of operation of thermal plants — a decline in the production of electric energy is obvious there. Causes for such a phenomenon are largely beyond control of power engineers themselves, but does that make things easier for us? The only hope is that the AES [atomic electric power plant] will continue its so far stable operation. Except that even here, one has to deal with contra accounts, barter, nonpayments, and other economic hindrances.

That is why, as they were telling journalists at a recent news conference about all of these problems, leaders of the AES stressed the following: Atomic plants today fully deserve some credit of confidence. Well, radiophobia notwithstanding, we need to search for a compromise. All the more so, specialists in nuclear safety emphasized, since this is the prevalent approach in Central Europe. There, those same AES are sometimes located literally in suburbs of industrial centers or even capitals. This is probably what former designers of our Chernobyl AES unsuccessfully tried to copy having added to Western experience their own Soviet practice in construction quality.

Well, this is over, as we are told at the AES: Americans promise to build for us storage facilities for spent nuclear materials — compared to many others, their design was found to be the best and most reliable. It is now up to Ukrainian departments, where the storage facility design is still kept for expert analysis, to have a final say on the radiation and generally ecological control in this type of construction that is 99 percent possible. As is known, this question particularly worries residents of regions adjacent to the plant who protest against building the storage facility, at any rate, in the vicinity of their homes.

However, the reasoning of atomic specialists in favor of building the facility is also quite weighty. First, they maintain, those who think that the fuel assemblies that, in accordance with a separate agreement with Russia, are now sent to Krasnoyarsk Kray are buried there for good are mistaken. We only send them there for storage, and nobody knows when this process may be halted and we will be told to take our nuclear "belongings" back home. Another point is that, in present politically charged conditions, the practice of concluding contracts for storing spent heat elements keeps our atomic specialists in constant tension — will such a contract be signed next year, or perhaps this time the answer will be "no." Theoretically, this may happen any time, because this situation is generally typical of relations between our two countries in the sphere of power engineering when attempts are made to hold Ukraine on a short leash. The calculation here is simple — to be able to tighten the noose any moment.

That is why our state today must keep the problem of strategic enterprises under special control, especially because we have already allowed ourselves to be drawn too far in what concerns energy provision. However, in addition to political, there also exists an economic aspect to the need to have our own storage facility for nuclear waste. Today, we pay Russia $250 for every kilogram of this waste, whereas the internal cost of such a service is just $40.

Meanwhile, it appears that sooner or later, we will be confronted with the problem of strengthening our atomic power engineering. In present conditions, atomic fuel is the cheapest for Ukraine, and there is practically no alternative to it. The "blue fuel" that has long been prevalent both in households and at many enterprises is literally becoming "golden" in terms of prices. Incidentally, in Central Europe, this was understood a long time ago, and they watched with a smile how we were drawing gas supply lines to more and more points. In the future, Ukraine will also have to replace much of its "blue fuel" with electricity.

In Enerhodar, one can hear people joking about such prospects: Why should our specialists stop escaping to Russia had they not been aware that there would be enough work for atomic specialists in Ukraine? Indeed, the brain drain that threatened Ukraine with a real catastrophe until quite recently has stopped at the AES, and the situation has stabilized. However, reasons for this are rather in the social sphere than in some other considerations. In spite of difficulties, the AES found possibilities to push housing construction from the standstill and to create new jobs. For this, a serious step was made — the enterprise was reorganized into a production association, which incorporated a local house-building combine; then, with the help of the latter, the nonstandard equipment plant was put back in operation, and it started manufacturing assembly parts. Also, more than 20,000 hectares of land was allocated for kitchen gardens, and it was promised that, in two years, the entire town will be supplied with vegetables.

Whatever one might say, such concerns further reassure atomic specialists. Especially because, today, there is no alternative to their arguments: In conditions of the present energy-related unrest, our life may soon become much worse without AES. Or should we wait until every home is fixed with a makeshift stove?

TV Chief Kulyk on RPT Relay Dispute

MM1209150895 Moscow TRUD in Russian 8 Sep 95 p 3

[Interview with Zynoviy Kulyk, chairman of the Ukrainian State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, by Igor Yurchenko on the "Ukrainian Page"; place and date not given: "Advertising Is Motive Force Behind Television. Russian Television Did Not Want To Share Profits" — first two paragraphs are introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is already more than a month since Russian Public Television [RPT] stopped being the "main program on the first channel" in Ukraine. By order of Zynoviy Kulyk, chairman of the [Ukrainian — FBIS] State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, the channels have been switched around and the state channel UT-2 is now being relayed on "Ostankino"s' old wavelength and RPT has been forced to share the airwaves with local Ukrainian channels on the decimeter band.

Passions have not cooled over the whether the decision was lawful and expedient. Television has even reanimated political life which had gone quiet during the parliamentary recess. Several deputies cut short their vacations and joined the battle for citizens' rights to free access to information. In Eastern Ukraine, several political movements are even calling for a nationwide boycott of the products of companies placing adverts on Ukrainian Television. It is hard to imagine that, in making the decision to switch around the channels, Zynoviy Volodymyrovych Kulyk did not foresee such a reaction. But he still took this step, taking the risk of at least turning a great many people against him both in circles close to the serious politicians and among the "lower strata" of society. Evidently, the decision is more than just a technical question. But what do we find if we delve deeper into the matter?

"I would not like to underestimate the significance of the order to switch channels," Zynoviy Kulyk says. "Technically speaking, this is just a departmental order, several of which are issued every day. But, on the other hand, you cannot fail to take into consideration the reaction of political parties, movements, and of a section of the population. Indeed, it was not difficult to foresee what it would be. What is more, in my predictions I imagined that the reaction would be much sharper. But, I also would not wish to exaggerate, let alone politicize the significance of the switch of channels. It should rather be described as the first step in the reform and development of Ukrainian national television which is visible to the public."

Viewers write that the relay of RPT programs is at present of poor quality: The picture is "snowy," there is a loss of sound, and the picture is not always clear.... You want, on the one hand, to be sympathetic to people. But let us look at the objective evidence from a different perspective: Our programs went out with "snowy" pictures and indistinct sound and pictures before 1 August. This fact alone is evidence that they could not have been competitive. Given that, they are unable, beginning with their technical quality, to compete with others, what incentive can there be for the program makers, who are spending their none too generous state funding to make programs, which after being screened might, perhaps, only be discussed at editorial meetings.... Nevertheless, it is for the viewers that we work!

This is the problem seen from the perspective of program making. But there is also a political and legal side to the question, emanating from purely economic decisions. The fact that it is no longer possible to continue relaying the channel, usually called "Ostankino" which is now used by the semi-private RPT joint-stock company, is a question which is equally legal and economic.

[Yurchenko] Today, many people reproach you specifically for the following two reasons. Senior figures, including Supreme Council deputies from the commission for the legal guarantee of freedom of speech, say, on the one hand, that the relay of RPT was not so costly, and on the other, that the switching of channels was not within the authority of the chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting.

[Kulyk] The broadcasting of the signal for programs of Russian television cost Ukraine $9 million a year! The former state television company "Ostankino" owed a total of more than 15 billion rubles [R] for the relay of its programs. But the Ukrainian side's actual expenditure amounted to R90 billion. You see, we sent a enormous amount of technical facilities and a great many people to service the "Ostankino" signal. What is more, the "Ostankino" leadership left us in no doubts that it would not pay its debts. But RPT also did not intend to settle the promissory notes of its previous bosses. Today, there are no agreements whatsoever between the Ukrainian State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and RPT. Incidentally, the expenses we have incurred in relaying RPT's signal is simply illegal. We have in fact been financing foreign programs in full, which is a violation of the law as, according to our legislation, 50 percent of programs on any channel should be made in Ukraine. Here, it is not my business to discuss the law, but to see that it is executed. But what is happening is that we are imposing judicial order while hearing accusations that we have violated the law....

[Yurchenko] There is an opinion that Ukraine is hardly entitled to make material claims against RPT, as it does, after all, receive extremely popular television programs from it absolutely free of charge.

[Kulyk] The situation which existed prior to 1 August was also abnormal by international standards. In practice, it is the broadcaster who pays for purveying information beyond the state borders. The United States relays its television programs to Latin America and Europe — it has an interest in doing so and makes payments to these countries.

[Yurchenko] Many analysts noticed that two events coincided — the signing by you of the order to switch channels and the decision of RPT's board of directors to resume the broadcasting of advertisements.

[Kulyk] I do not, strictly speaking, deny the fact that the question of advertising had a certain effect on the date of the switching of channels. Judge for yourself: Ukraine accounts for one fifth of RPT's viewing public. Why should the advertisers place their ads on Ukrainian Television when a high-quality foreign channel reaching almost 100 percent viewers will screen them? What is more, national television was of poorer quality.... It is, of course, hard to accept such a situation. We had an opportunity to resolve the problem in a civilized manner: We proposed that RPT pass on some of the profits from advertising to Ukraine. We received a categorical refusal.

[Yurchenko] It is no secret that in Western and Eastern Ukraine reactions are different to Ukrainian Television's programs. While everything is more or less clear in the western regions where preference is given to national television, the eastern regions prefer programs relayed by Russian television.....

[Kulyk] I would not divide the viewing public into devotees of Ukrainian and Russian television. Here the key factor is, perhaps, the language problem. There is nothing that can be done about this at present: There is a whole section of the population which stubbornly refuses to understand that it is normal to know the state language. This does not only go for Ukraine. For example, there are people who have been living in the Baltics for decades who have, for reasons beyond me, simply not learnt the national language. And the fact that they are now experiencing certain difficulties as they sit and watch television is not their problem? On the other hand, however, the professional standard of RPT's programs is better than ours. Why? Earlier I talked about the lack of incentives. Today the creative tasks, which national television has been set, will be carried out more effectively.

Economic Issues

Potential To Supply Russia With Food Underutilized

MM1109152295 Moscow TRUD in Russian 8 Sep 95 p 3

[Report by Stanislav Prokopchuk from the "Ukrainian Page": "We Will Survive Until October"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — The majority of specialists at the republic's Ministry of Agriculture and Food with whom I have met agree on one thing: Ukraine is making extremely poor use of its potential to supply foodstuffs to Moscow and Russia as a whole. State trade structures are mainly tracking shipments under contracts concluded at intergovernmental level as payment for oil and gas. But a considerable proportion of the meat, butter, cheese, and fruit in the hands of private operators and collective farms is not being used. The commercial structures are trying to plug this gap. While offering the peasant cash which the state cannot give him and sometimes does not want to give him, these structures often rob him. Even so they are unable to significantly revive trade between Moscow and Ukraine because most of these brokerage organizations are too small.

But the most serious blow to Ukraine's trade relations, one from which local agricultural producers have still not recovered, according to Grigoriy Kramarenko, deputy chief of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food's Main Committee for Food Resources, was caused by state "regulation"; 100-percent prepayment, licenses and quotas (on literally all foodstuffs), and distortions in the foreign currency regulation mechanism.

Recently all these barriers were lifted — the only licenses and quotas remaining apply to grain and not grain products. But because this has happened only recently there has been no dramatic revival in commodity exchange yet. The agreement between Ukraine and the Russian Federation envisaging deliveries of 100,000 tonnes of meat and 300,000 tonnes of dairy produce to the major Russian cities this year has only been 10-50 percent fulfilled. In the first half year Moscow, like St. Petersburg, has effectively given up Ukrainian butter. However, in Kiev Oblast alone there are over 300,000 tonnes of butter stockpiled at the refrigerator combines which they just cannot sell, according to V. Sinko, head of the oblast's administration. There is surplus meat as well. The trade system, which could have bought livestock from the peasants, has no money. Nor has the population, which has been suddenly reduced to poverty. That is why the Kiev meat combines are now working to only one-half or even one-third of capacity.

Kiev is now preparing for a business meeting of representatives of the administration and trade and commercial structures from Moscow, St. Petersburg, Tyumen, Novosibirsk, Chelyabinsk, and Murmansk sponsored by the Moscow Government and the Ukrainian embassy in Moscow. The meeting will be held in October. During this meeting the republic's Ministry of Agriculture and Food intends putting forward a whole series of concrete proposals to revive trade. In particular, it plans to discuss with its partners the question of the creation of Ukrainian-Russian joint enterprises in Moscow and other interested cities. With their help, the ministry believes, it will be easier to resolve all the problems of mutual settlements and to agree prices and volumes of deliveries more quickly.

Food fairs will be held all over Ukraine in October. Kiev will be staging "Contract Fair-95," Dnepropetrovsk will be holding "Prodekspo" ["Food Expo"], Lwiw will stage "Galitskiy Contract- 95," and in Nikolayev there will be the "Agroyug" fair.

"I hope that October will give a fresh impetus to our partnership," Grigoriy Kramarenko, deputy chief of the Main Committee for Food Resources, concluded. "We will also help our peasants to find long-term customers and come to terms with prices so that there is less deception on the part of those who take advantage of the peasants' inexperience in trade deals which until recently were a solid state monopoly."

Committee Presents Study of Gaztranzyt Joint Venture

WS1209091095 Lvov INFOBANK in English
0727 GMT 12 Sep 95

[From the "News Service" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ukraine's State Committee for the Oil, Natural Gas, and Oil Refinery Industries submitted a technical and economic report regarding the creation of the Russian-Ukrainian joint stock company Gaztranzyt for consideration to the Supreme Council's Committee for the Fuel and Energy Complex, Transportation, and Communications. According to experts in the State Committee, the creation of such a joint stock company will help provide funds for the construction and use of the gas pipelines Torzhok-Dolyna, Talne-Ananyyiv-Izmail, and Bohorodchany-Khust-Satu-Mare.

The report states that cooperation with the Russian association Gazprom (a potential founder of Gaztranzyt) will increase the use of Ukraine's gas pipeline networks and underground storehouses, will guarantee additional orders from the Khartsyzk pipe plant and the Mykolayiv and Sumy manufacturing associations which produce natural gas pumping equipment, will guarantee sufficient work for the Ukrnaftohazbud and Hazbud construction enterprises, and will prevent the stoppage of construction on the Torzhok-Dolyna pipeline which has almost been completed and into which more than 700 million USD has already been invested. In addition, experts from the State Committee for the Oil, Natural Gas, and Oil Refinery Industries confirm that in the regions in which new oil and natural gas pipelines will be built by Gaztranzyt it will be possible to bring natural gas into Ukraine's populated areas in the vicinity of the pipeline. Ukraine would thus raise its level of competitiveness as a transporter of Russian energy resources in comparison with Poland and Belarus.

The technical and economic report also contains an explanation why it would not be advisable to include the working funds from the Bohorodchany and Bilche-Volytsya-Uherske natural gas storehouses, this being that there is no technological need for this. The Russian side is insisting that these be included. However, those working on the joint stock company project for the Ukrainian side consider that the value of these two storehouses is considerably greater than the pipelines themselves.

'Reforms' Faction Opposes Joint Venture

WS1209104495 Lvov INFOBANK in English
0727 GMT 12 Sep 95

[From the "News Service" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The 'Reform' parliamentary faction has issued a statement regarding the establishment of Gaztranzyt, a Russian-Ukrainian privately held joint venture, on the basis of existing Ukrainian gas pipelines and underground storage facilities. Faction members claim that the implementation of this project might endanger the economic security of the state. According to the statement, the Law on Mineral Resources of Ukraine was violated by the Government when it agreed to transfer property rights for the Bohorodchanske and the Bilche-Volytsya-Uherske gas storage facilities (of about 32 billion cubic meters total capacity) to the joint venture which is still to be registered. The Law stipulates that underground storage facilities shall remain in the state property and may only be leased to business entities. Parliamentarians maintain that the Ukrainian side will immediately lose control over Gaztranzyt, as it will own only 45 percent of its stock. Other 45 percent are to be owned by Russian Gazprom, and the rest 10 percent — by Olgaz joint venture. The same joint venture was authorized for some reason by the Cabinet of Ministers to carry out the official registration of Gaztranzyt.

The 'Reform' faction also opposes the establishment of such joint venture because the asset value of the storage facilities is still undefined. According to the Russian side, the assets in question are worth US $405.8 million, while Ukraine insists on US $10,612 million. However, even this figure is two or three times lower than assessed by Western auditors.

The Gaztranzyt issue will be considered by the Parliamentary Committee on Fuel, Energy, Transportation, and Communications for the second time this week.

Belarus

NATO Actions in Bosnia Concern Foreign Ministry

LD1209161595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1310 GMT 12 Sep 95

[By BELINFORM correspondent Aleksandr Lyushkevich for TASS]

[FBIS Translated Text] Minsk, 12 Sep (ITAR-TASS) — The bombardment and missile and artillery attacks on the Serbs' positions go beyond the framework of the UN Security Council's mandate, while the growing force being applied to the Bosnian Serbs is reducing the chances of a political settlement for the conflict. Thus runs a statement adopted today by the Belarusian Foreign Affairs Ministry in connection with the escalation of the military intervention in the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"Reports that bombing and artillery fire have been directed at not only military installations, but the civilian infrastructure and that there are civilian casualties as a result of this cannot fail to alarm. We also express concern at the serious situation of the refugees and the humanitarian crisis brought on by the mass exodus of the Serb population from the combat zone," the statement reads.

Assessing the diplomatic efforts to stop the military actions in the former Yugoslavia, the Belarusian Foreign Affairs Ministry welcomes the results of the Geneva meeting of ministers of foreign affairs of Yugoslavia, Bosnia, and Croatia, the joint statement adopted at the end of the meeting, and the accord achieved among the sides with regard to the declaration of principles, since neither armed intervention from without, nor military confrontation between the conflicting sides on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina can bring about a comprehensive peaceful settlement of the situation.

The Republic of Belarus consistently backs a settlement of the Yugoslavian crisis exclusively by peaceful means, it notes in the statement.

Official Views UN Peacekeeping Participation

WS1309103095 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 8 Sep 95 p 6

[Interview with V. Tsapkala, first deputy foreign minister, by INTERFAX correspondent V. Zyankovich; place and date not given: "Belarusian Foreign Ministry Considers Belarusian Participation in UN Peacekeeping Activities"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Zyankovich] Valeryy Vilyamavich, the United Nations, particularly its Secretary General Butrus Ghali, has asked Belarus to consider the possibility of the Republic's participation in UN peacekeeping operations. As we know, the reaction of the Republic's former political leadership to those kinds of initiatives was rather reserved. What is the current government's stance on the issue?

[Tsapkala] In the past, repeated appeals by the UN Secretariat for Belarus to offer its personnel and material-technical resources for peacekeeping operations were indeed rejected on the grounds that there were certain restrictions in Belarus's legislation regarding the participation of Belarusian servicemen in operations outside the Republic. In addition, the parliamentary procedure of passing resolutions on that issue was very complex. The new Belarusian Constitution passed on 15 March 1994 does not contain any restrictions on those kinds of activities. In accordance with the Republic's military doctrine, which took effect on 16 December 1992, the participation of the Belarusian Armed Forces in peacekeeping operations is not prohibited.

Along with that, I would like to point out that Belarus did participate in peacekeeping missions in the past; however, its participation was limited to delegating very small civilian contingents (comprised of three to five people) to UN missions monitoring elections in the South African Republic and Mozambique.

It is absolutely evident to me that in the future it will be harder and harder for Belarus to evade UN statutory peacekeeping activities, primarily for political reasons. The outcome of the UN Security Council elections in 1993, which were unfortunate for Belarus, may be regarded as one of the first indicators of that trend. I am sure that we should discuss the possibility of examining in detail the forms and parameters of the Republic's gradual involvement in UN peacekeeping operations. I think that a logical step toward that goal would be to establish a working group of experts under the auspices of the UN Security Council, which could also include officials from the Defense and Foreign ministries.

[Zyankovich] Does the United Nations envision a mechanism for Belarus's involvement in peacekeeping operations?

[Tsapkala] One of the possible ways to involve Belarus in peacekeeping operations would be through the Republic's participation in the so-called system of reserve agreements.

This system is comprised of tentative agreements reached between the United Nations and individual states on providing reserve contingents and rendering other kinds of assistance. Those contingents maintain a certain degree of readiness and undergo appropriate training in accordance with UN standards. The range of such assistance may include the provision of military contingents, civil militia contingents, and specialists' contingents, as well as services and special equipment. This system is very flexible, because states are given the right to choose among the forces and facilities which they can delegate to peackeeping missions, as well as the right to independently determine the period within which those forces can be deployed and the conditions in which they operate.

Within the framework of this system, the final decision regarding participation in peacekeeping operations always rests with the member-states. Moreover, refusal to participate does not have to be accompanied by any notes explaining the reasons for that kind of decision. The signing of the reserve agreement as such does not entail any financial commitments. It can be unilaterally rescinded at any time.

On 1 December 1994 the Belarusian Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent notes to K. Anan, UN deputy secretary general for peacekeeping operations, and M. Guldzin, UN deputy secretary general for political issues.

The documents point out Belarus's readiness to delegate military observers and political advisers to participate in UN peacekeeping missions. In addition, the Belarusian side pointed out that it is considering the possible training of a Belarusian Armed Forces battalion for peacekeeping operations.

[Zyankovich] Will the issue be positively resolved?

[Tsapkala] I think it necessary to form a Belarusian peacekeeping battalion comprised of soldiers and officers hired exclusively on a contractual basis.

The system envisions the participation of national military formations and other personnel solely in traditional peacekeeping operations, which minimizes the risk of casualties among personnel.

President Against NATO's Eastward Expansion

LD1209211095 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 95

[Video report by correspondent Lyudmila Vilyuga, including recorded comments by President Alyaksandr Lukashenka; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belarusian President Lukashenka sees the CIS military and political bloc as an alternative to the North Atlantic Alliance. [Vilyuga] The issue of Belarus suspending the Treaty on Conventional Weapons was once again the focus of attention at the CIS joint commission on disarmament, which held a meeting at the Minsk headquarters today. As you know, the reasons given for the six month freeze on the destruction of military hardware in the republic by the Belarusian authorities were economic difficulties. However, President Alyaksandr Lukashenka has repeatedly connected the failure to implement the treaty with the military-political trends in Europe, which clearly show NATO's desire to move eastward.

[Lukashenka] Public opinion here does not accept the trend, especially the mechanical expansion of NATO toward the east, we have not accepted this and do not accept this, and I include myself.

[Vilyuga] The Belarusian president's refusal to accept a single polarity in the system of global security was evident in his statement that a CIS military and political bloc needed to be set up to act as an alternative to the North Atlantic Alliance, which is now demonstrating its aggressive nature in the Balkans. In addition to this, the return to the idea of a military and political alliance represents the Belarusian president's desire to remind people of the content of the original agreements of the Commonwealth states, which outlined the general shape the CIS will take, with a single economic and customs space and a single formula for the security of its external borders. Alyaksandr Lukashenka's statement was made during an official visit to Moldova. It has not yet met with any response in Belarus, at least there have been no comments from the president's administration or from the government or Supreme Soviet.

Lyudmila Vilyuga and Sergey Gelbakh for Russian Public Television in Belarus.

Lukashenka To Call For Rapid CIS Integration

LD1209154195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1334 GMT 12 Sep 95

[By Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, September 12 (ITAR-TASS) — Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka today announced his intention to call on the nearest CIS summit meeting for a more rapid economic, political and military integration.

"The situation in which the documents passed within the framework of the CIS do not work may not suit our peoples any longer," Lukashenka said at a news conference on his returning from an official visit to Moldova today.

According to Lukashenka, division of the CIS members allowed "NATO to control and direct the situation in the Balkans on orders from across the ocean, ignoring the interests of European security."

"This could not happen in the times of the USSR, and to resist these tendencies, unity in the military-political field is needed," Lukashenka told ITAR-TASS.

There is no denial that the CIS states want access to Russia's resources, he continued.

But those willing to have close economic ties with Russia would err if they want to skip their part in the protection of these resources, Lukashenka said.

He said no economic benefit can be obtained remaining "sterile" in the military and political fields.

The politico-military cooperation is unavoidable.

It will be expanding regionally, the president forecast.

He said the western line of the cooperation will be between Russia, Ukraine and Moldova, with other CIS states making other lines of collaboration.

He called on the Russian leadership to drop its fear of being accused of "imperial ways."

Moldovan President Mircea Snegur has a different stance.

"Our Constitution does not allow us to join politico-military alliances," Snegur said in an interview with ITARr-TASS.

He said Moldova's part in NATO's Partnership for Peace programme is limited to military manpower training.

"By the way, we cooperate in the similar way with defence ministries of the CIS states," Snegur said.

Chyhir: No Talks Held on CIS Military Bloc

LD1209162295 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1348 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Minsk, Sept 12 (INTERFAX-WEST) — Belarus Prime Minister Mikhail Chyhir told a press conference in Minsk Tuesday [12 September] that "no discussions were conducted by President Lukashenka in Moldova on the possibility of establishing a CIS military-political bloc." President Lukashenka stated upon his arrival in Chisinau that "the creation of a CIS military-political bloc would be the best way of preserving stability in the region."

Chyhir also said that the IMF's Board of Directors was to meet in Washington September 12 to discuss the possibility of extending a stand-by credit to Belarus. The discussion was postponed from August 23 to a later date because the money supply index in Belarus was higher than the one fixed by the IMF. He announced, however, that Belarus was still hoping to receive the credit, because it had fulfilled all of the previously advanced economic terms. For instance, inflation stood at about 3% in August.

He said that during a telephone conversation last Monday an IMF representative expressed concern about the Belarussian debt for Russian gas. He admitted that the problem did exist, but said it would be solved when Russia and Belarus will pass over to the second stage in the creation of a single customs union.

Chyhir also spoke about his republic's trade with Moldova, which President Lukashenka visited on September 11 and 12.

Speaker Opposes Joining CIS Military Bloc

LD1209180895 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1607 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Minsk, Sept 12 (INTERFAX-WEST) — Belarussian Parliament Speaker Mechyslaw Hryb said that he opposes Belarus joining a military and political bloc of CIS countries.

President Alyaksandr Lukashenka said in Chisinau Monday [11 September] that Belarus is prepared to participate in the creation of such a bloc.

Hryb told a news conference in Minsk Tuesday that he is against resolving any disputes by military means. "I am opposed to the creation of a military and political bloc in which Belarus will end up on the front line anyway," stressed the speaker.

Hryb believes that the Belarus's participation in such a bloc would be a violation of the country's constitution which defines Belarus as a non-nuclear and neutral state.

Weapons Destruction Resumes Under CFE Treaty

LD1209144095 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1348 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Minsk, Sept 12 (INTERFAX-WEST) — Belarus has decided to resume the destruction of conventional weapons as part of the Conventional Forces in Europe agreement (CFE), deputy head of the foreign ministry's department for international security and disarmament Ivan Naidovich told INTERFAX on Tuesday.

He said the government would soon announce when exactly the process resumes.

The diplomat said President Alyaksandr Lukashenka's decision to suspend the destruction of weapons in February was caused by "sheer economic reasons."

He said that by then, Belarus had destroyed a total of 542 tanks, 384 armored vehicles and 346 aircraft which made up 71 percent, 73 percent and 64 percent of the total respectively.

Court To Examine Legality of President's Decrees

LD1209174495 Moscow NTV in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Sep 95

[From the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Constitutional Court in Belarus today decided to verify the legality of President Lukashenka's decrees. This is being done at the suggestion of parliament chairman [Mechyslaw] Hryb. Parliamentary deputies think that Lukashenka is trying to take over all three branches of power in Belarus — the legislative, executive, and judicial. Deputies made this accusation in a political statement adopted at a recent session. Deputies think that the president is using the state of emergency as a way to issue decrees that violate both the Constitution and the laws of the republic.

Moldova

Belarus President Lukashenka Begins 2-Day Visit

LD1109125995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1212 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, Sept 11 (INTERFAX) - Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka arrived in Moldova Monday morning on a two-day official visit at the invitation of Moldovan President Mircea Snegur.

When greeting the guest at the Chisinau airport, Snegur noted that they will focus on bilateral relations and cooperation in various spheres.

In his words, bilateral relations are on the rise, and both sides have signed 23 agreements whose fulfillment will be considered by the leaders.

The visit is expected to result in the signing of another 14 cooperation agreements, said Snegur.

It will be bilateral relations which prevail over cooperation in various organizations, he stressed.

On the first day, Lukashenko is to hold one-to-one talks with Moldovan President Mircea Snegur.

He will also visit the Chisinau tractor works manufacturing equipment for growing and processing sugar beet which Belarus would like to buy.

On the same day, Lukashenka is to meet with representatives of the 70,000-strong Belarussian community living in Moldova.

On September 12, he is to attend the ceremonial inauguration of the Belarusian embassy in Chisinau and meet with the staff of the research and production amalgamation specializing in growing and processing corn and sorghum.

Lukashenka Discusses Ties, World Issues

AU1209193795 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 1930 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, September 11 (INFOTAG) — On the invitation of Mircea Snegur, Belarussian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka, arrived to Moldova with an official visit today.

The two-day visit includes meetings of the heads of state and of the Moldovan and Belarussian official delegations. Mr. Lukashenka met with Parliament Chairman Petru Lucinschi and Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli today.

The official Belarussian delegation will attend the ceremony of opening the Belarussian Embassy to the Republic of Moldova, and will pay visits to several industrial enterprises.

President Mircea Snegur said at the Chisinau Airport today that the negotiations will be dedicated primarily to development of bilateral relations between the two nations.

"Our relationship is growing. After independence, Moldova and Belarus have signed 23 agreements on cooperation in various fields. Another 14 inter-state, inter-government and inter-ministerial agreements will be signed during this visit," Mircea Snegur said.

Belarussian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka has spoken for strengthening the unity of CIS countries in order to achieve stability in the region.

Commenting his attitude to the events in former Yugoslavia, Mr. Lukashenka said to journalists at the Chisinau Airport, "what is happening there is beyond my comprehension. We all should call for a peaceful settlement of problems there. I believe that all current statements and appeals to peace will remain just words unless concrete measures have been taken to restore stability in the region. We may voice endless demands to stop bombing the Slavs in ex-Yugoslavia which will remain useless till we attain unity in the military-political sphere. Ten years ago such a bloodshed would be just impossible, because the Soviet Union acted as a guarantor of stability. At present, there exist no such guarantors," Lukashenka said.

He answered to your correspondent that during the visit the sides will be discussing many diverse problems, including the Yugoslavian one.

In his turn, Mircea Snegur stressed that his credo is solving such conflict matters exceptionally through using peaceful means and at negotiation table. "I remain a firm adherent to the principles of political settlement of any problems, despite the attempts to provoke conflicts undertaken by Dniester leader Smirnov in his speech in the Russian State Duma. We shall be negotiating as much as may be necessary to solve all available disputes, and shall allow for no provocations," the Moldovan president has emphasized.

The Presidents of Moldova and Belarus, Mircea Snegur and Alyaksandr Lukashenka, have spoken for elimination of artificial barriers in cooperation between the two nations.

This would promote substantially the trade turnover between the two countries, the presidents pointed out at today's meeting. In their opinion, there exist all prerequisites to solve the problem of transit via the Ukrainian territory. Concrete accords in that direction were achieved during the last week's visit of the Ukrainian Prime Minister to Moldova, Snegur said.

At present, Belarus is holding the 4th position in Moldova's imports, and 5th place in exports.

Mircea Snegur has regarded the current socio-political situation in Moldova as a stable one and permitting to conduct market-oriented reforms. In his belief, there exist no national minorities problem in the republic, and Moldova's admittance to the Council of Europe is an extra proof that all ethnic minorities enjoy equal rights here.

Mr. Snegur has confirmed that the Moldovan authorities regard political methods as the only acceptable ones in overcoming any differences. In that context, Chisinau has enlisted support of Russian President Boris Yeltsin. However, some Russian Parliament deputies do not share Chisinau's attitude, and are supporting separatist trends shown by Dniester, he said.

Call For Removal of Trade Barriers

LD1209201395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1655 GMT 12 Sep 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Presidents of Belarus and Moldova Alyaksandr Lukashenka and Mircea Snegur meeting in Chisinau on Monday called for the removal of trade barriers between the two countries as a way of boosting bilateral trade.

They also said there were all conditions to resolve the problem of shipments via Ukrainian territory as well.

Belarus is Moldova's fourth trading partner among CIS states.

Snegur pointed to his country's internal stability helping to implement market reforms. He reaffirmed commitment to political ways of narrowing differences on the Transdniestrian conflict.

In this connection, Snegur pointed to the Russian president's understanding of this though some Russian deputies continued to reject Chisinau's position and back Tiraspol's separatist trends.

Prime Minister Mikhail Chyhir speaking in Minsk on Tuesday said the question of a possible CIS military alliance was not on the agenda of Lukashenka's talks in Moldova.

He said the IMF board of directors was due to meet in Washington on Tuesday to discuss a standby credit to Belarus, something it was scheduled to do on August 23, but decided to reschedule the question until later because of excessive money supply in Belarus.

The prime minister spoke of hoping to get the IMF credit given that the country had met all of the IMF-set austerity measures including last month's inflation of under 3 percent.

But he also spoke of holding a telephone conversation with an IMF official who was concerned at Minsk's gas bill to Russia.

Chyhir said the debt issue could be resolved after the implementation of the second phase of the customs union with Russia.

He said this provides for the creation of a common payment union, equal economic conditions for Russia and Belarus and working out a mechanism of debt settling.

On President Lukashenka's visit to Moldova, the prime minister said the free trade agreement the two countries signed two years ago was unworkable following a customs union agreement Minsk and Moscow signed in January, something Moldova should join if the latest setback is to be redressed.

Belarus President Discusses Bosnia

AU1209131695 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2040 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, 11/09/1995 (BASAPRESS) — "The former Soviet republics are interested to maintain peace and stability in the Balkans and other points on the globe and in virtue of that they should take measures of consolidation, especially in the military-political field," the Belorussian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka declared upon his arrival at the Chisinau airport. "What is happening now in the former Yugoslavia would have been impossible 10 years ago when the Soviet Union, which was the guarantee of stability in the Balkans, was alive. Presently there is no such guarantee," the Belorussian president said.

Asked by BASAPRESS about his attitude toward NATO air strikes, Lukashenka said that Belarus, Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and other former Soviet republics "should strive for the peaceful solution of the Bosnian conflict," but "however insistent the request to stop shelling the Slavs is, it will not be heard unless we take concrete steps and unite our peoples. Only then will our voice be heard."

Speaking on the events in former Yugoslavia, President Snegur said "our attitude toward the conflict is well known and it lies in a solution through peaceful talks only." Snegur mentioned he is further on faithful to this position even when attempts to challenge Chisinau are done. In this context, the Moldovan president called the recent declarations by Tiraspol leader Igor Smirnov "provocative." Snegur said Moldova will nonetheless continue the negotiations with Tiraspol, "in order not to accept any provocation, as it is very easy to provoke something, shots including." During his visit to Chisinau, Alyaksandr Lukashenka is to conclude 14 cooperation agreements between Moldova and Belarus.

Chisinau Disapproves of Smirnov's State Duma Speech

AU1209155995 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English
2040 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau 11/09/1995 (BASAPRESS) — Chisinau members of parliament disapprove of Tiraspol leader Igor Smirnov's speech in the Russian State Duma. Tudor Olaru of the permanent parliamentary board said "the very fact that Smirnov held a speech in the Russian Duma stands for the double-face policy promoted by the Russian parliament toward the former Soviet republics. If Moldova recognized all self-proclaimed republics from the Russian Federation, Moscow would find itself in a rather difficult position. It's just as if Dzhokhar Dudayev held a speech in the Moldovan Parliament at our invitation." Olaru pointed out that the Chisinau Parliament should send the State Duma a protest letter. Mihai Ghimpu of the Peasants and Intellectuals Bloc told BASAPRESS that "this is an interference of the Russian Parliament in Moldova's domestic affairs." According to Ghimpu, Smirnov's speech proves that the information on Chisinau-Tiraspol talks, offered by the Moldovan leadership, is incomplete. "As long as Moscow conducts the Tiraspol leaders, Moldova will not be able to control this territory," said Ghimpu.

Snegur Loses Respect for State Duma

LD1209162495 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1348 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, Sept 12 (INTERFAX) — Moldovan President Mircea Snegur said he had lost respect for Russia's State Duma.

Summing up the results of a Belarussian delegation's visit to Moldova, he told a press conference in Chisinau Tuesday that "the current Duma can do nothing but interfere in Moldova's affairs by discussing the Transdniestrian problem."

Asked whom he would like to see among Russia's future leaders, Snegur said: "I still trust President Yeltsin and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, but so far I can't trust blocs and all sorts of factions."

Belarussian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka, who took part in the press conference, said that "the choice of the Russian people will be law for Belarus."

"We favor broader relations between our countries and a qualitatively new level of integration. Whoever comes to power, we must have access to Russian resources and cooperate with Russia in all fields," he said.

Foreign Ministry Statement on Duma

AU1209194095 Chisinau INFOTAG in English
1930 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, September 11 (INFOTAG) — The Moldovan Ministry of Foreign Affairs today distributed a statement accusing the Russian State Duma of committing an unfriendly step against Moldova by having given the floor to Dniester leader Igor Smirnov. Thus, the Russian legislators have grossly violated international law norms, the document reads.

The ministry has regarded the incident as an interference into Moldova's internal affairs, as an encroachment on its sovereignty and territorial integrity. On the eve of the next Moldova/Dniester summit scheduled for September 13, this step cannot be appraised otherwise but an attempt to hamper the negotiation process and encouraging Tiraspol to deny reasonable compromises.

Snegur Ready To Grant Dniester Region Autonomy

LD1209163295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1430 GMT 12 Sep 95

[By Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, September 12 (ITAR-TASS) - Moldavian President Mircea Snegur stated the readiness of the Moldavian leadership today to "grant the Dniester region the status of an autonomous republic within Moldova."

"The word 'republic' itself already means statehood and legal relations between us," Snegur told ITAR-TASS on the eve of a regular round of talks with Tiraspol leaders on the settlement of the Dniester conflict. The talks are scheduled for Wednesday in Chisinau. "Instead, we are accused of blocking the negotiations," he said.

Snegur regarded the speech by leader of the Dniester region Igor Smirnov in the State Duma of Russia asking Russian parliamentarians to recognise the Dniester republic as a provocative statement which may complicate the negotiations.

"Despite this, we firmly intend to resolve the Dniester problem by peaceful means and will conduct talks as long as it will be necessary for the final settlement of the problem," Snegur said.

At the upcoming meeting Tiraspol is expecting from Chisinau a reply to the draft of the memorandum on the recognition of statehood of the Dniester Moldavian republic which was proposed in July, sources from the Dniester leadership told ITAR-TASS.

This document envisages to build relations between Tiraspol and Chisinau on the constitutional and treaty basis.

Dniester Parties Reject Concessions in Talks

AU1209155895 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2040 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tiraspol 11/09/1995 (BASAPRESS) — The congress of political parties held Saturday in Tiraspol asked the Dniester Government not to accept any concessions in the talks with Chisinau and to promote a policy aimed at the revival of the Soviet Union and to annul the laws on privatization. The parties that participated in the Congress are members of the Coordinating Council "on the revitalization of the union state and protection of the Moldovan Dniester Republic."

The leader of the Council, Vasili Yakovlev, said in his speech that "currently, a process of national patrimony destruction is taking place in Dniester, a foreign currency was introduced here and people are estranged from the political power structures." Speaking about the agreement on correlation of Moldovan and Dniester currency systems, concluded July 15, Yakovlev said this is "a cooperation between a wolf and a hare." As for the talks with Chisinau, Yakovlev asked the Dniester president and the Supreme Soviet to "insist upon the republic's sovereignty."

An alternative project of Dniester constitution was adopted at the congress. It sets forth "the necessity to strengthen the independence and sovereignty of the Moldovan Dniester Republic," which will enter either the new Soviet Union or the Russian Federation.

The vice president of Tiraspol Parliament, Vladimir Bodnar, present at the Congress denied the accusation of being too loyal to Chisinau. "We go on building our own sovereign republic. I'm not talking about the adoption of a status but the recognition of Dniester's statehood," Bodnar said.

Anna Volkova, vice president of the Supreme Soviet, declared that "one cannot overlook the political and economic reality but our republic has survived for five years because we know how to maneuver." Volkova added the extremist-radical approach to the problems can make Dniester lose its independence and become again part of Moldova.

351 delegates participated in the Congress.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev, China's Jiang Condemn National Separatism

LD1209155395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1516 GMT 12 Sep 95

[By Marat Abulkhatin and Grigoriy Arslanov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Beijing, September 12 (ITAR-TASS) — Kazakhstan resolutely condemns any attempts of national separatism which are the main reasons for bloodshed in a number of districts of the former Soviet Union.

Kazakhstan's policy fully coincides with the course pursued by the People's Republic of China, Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev told a news conference in Beijing today.

Nazarbayev expounded the position of Almaty concerning the activities of former Chinese citizens living in Kazakhstan who stand up for the formation of Xinjiang independent of China.

Representatives of the same people reside both in Kazakhstan and China. During the talks with Chairman of the People's Republic of China Jiang Zemin, the two sides discussed these issues, including the condition of over one million Kazakhs living in the Xinjiang- Uigur autonomous district of China, the president noted.

Kazakhstan and China come out against fomenting national separatism on their territories and seek to turn the frontier between them into the border of friendship and mutual confidence.

Almaty Adheres to Beijing's Policy of 'One China'

LD1209200395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1936 GMT 12 Sep 95

[By Marat Abulkhatin and Grigoriy Arslanov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Beijing, September 12 (ITAR-TASS) — Head of the Chinese government Li Peng expressed gratitude to Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev for Almaty's adherence to the "one China" policy.

During today's meeting the president of Kazakhstan and the premier of the State Council of China expressed satisfaction with the stable development of different ties after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

They noted that some 40 documents signed during summit meetings, promote the extension of bilateral cooperation in the political, economic, and scientific and technological fields.

The sides agreed to broaden bilateral cooperation in the field of metallurgy, the light and textile industry, and the mining industry, as well as in the sphere of transport, communications and production of mineral fertilizers "on the basis of international standards."

An agreement was reached on the laying of oil pipelines connecting West Kazakhstan with the eastern coastline of China, as well as the use of the Chinese port of Lianyungang by Almaty for transportation of Kazakh goods to Japan, North and Central America, and to South-East Asia.

Nazarbayev stated that Kazakhstan highly estimated China's importance as one of the leading trade and economic partners of Kazakhstan in the Asian and Pacific region.

The Chinese leadership accepted with satisfaction Nazarbayev's statement that Almaty retains adherence to the principle of "one China" set forth in bilateral documents, and refuses to get in any official contacts with Taiwan which lays claim to independence and the membership in the United Nations. The observance of this principle has become the main criterion which tells China's friends from its adversaries, informed sources told Itar-Tass.

In its turn, China supported the initiative of the president of Kazakhstan to hold an international conference on confidence building measures in Asia.

Li Peng and Nazarbayev highly estimated the signed protocol on the exchange of ratification instruments on the border line between the two countries an agreement on which plays an important role in the development of good-neighborly ties.

The head of the Chinese government noted that the decision to prolong Nazarbayev's powers up to the year of 2000 would promote political stability and economic development of Kazakhstan.

New Constitution Bars Most Citizens From Becoming Deputies

MM1209145695 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Sep 95 p 3

[Report by Vitaliy Strugovets: "Kazakhstanis Have Started Living in a Presidential Republic. The Former Constitution Has Been Consigned to the Archives Forever"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As already reported, almost 90 percent of the electorate voted for Kazakhstan's new constitution, and approximately 10 percent against it. On 5 September the Central Referendum Commission, which published these data, announced the new constitution's validation. On 6 September President Nursultan Nazarbayev appended his signature to its original text. The previous fundamental law, which was in existence for just over 2 and a half years, has been consigned to the state archives forever.

What is fundamentally new in Kazakhstan's adopted constitution? There is, above all, the clearly prescribed presidential form of government; acknowledgment of the right of private ownership of land, while at the same time state ownership of water and minerals remains; a compact two-chamber parliament elected for four years and consisting of two chambers — the Senate and the Assembly, which operate on a permanent basis.

A citizen of Kazakhstan who has attained the age of 30 years, with a work record of at least five years and certainly with higher education, may be a Senate deputy. In the opinion of the constitution's authors, secondary education will enable parliament to be truly professional. But this educational requirement at once debars from involvement in lawmaking activity the majority of the population of Kazakhstan — mainly of its rural rayons, where the bulk of Kazakhstanis live.

The new constitution has at last defined juridically the status of the Russian language, which is deemed to be an official language used in state organizations and organs of local self-government on a par with Kazakh. This significant concession to the problems of ethnic Russians in Kazakhstan probably determined the attention that the Russian leadership devoted to the referendum in Kazakhstan. In particular, one week before the referendum Kazakhstan's mass media published Boris Yeltsin's special message to Kazakhstan's inhabitants on the adoption of the constitution.

Kyrgyzstan

Bishkek Hopes Differences Will Not Revive Blocs

LD1209162795 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1348 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bishkek, Sept 12 (INTERFAX) — Kyrgyzstan hopes that Russia and NATO will settle their disagreements over the Bosnian problem and "find a solution that would reflect the interests of both sides and rule out the revival of blocs," the Kyrgyz president's foreign-policy advisor Ishenbai Abdyrazakov told INTERFAX Tuesday.

He said "confrontation may slow down the establishment of mutual trust, and joint solutions to regional and global problems."

He also said that he could understand the irritation of the great Russian state faced with NATO bomb attacks on the Bosnian Serb positions.

He spoke in favor of the earliest possible peaceful settlement of the conflict in Bosnia, noting that this conflict is evolving into the main obstacle on the road towards complete reconciliation between East and West.

Parliament Must Support Referendum on Akayev's Powers

LD1209131895 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1057 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bishkek, Sept 12 (INTERFAX) — The Kyrgyz parliament has no other choice but support a referendum on prolonging President Askar Akayev's powers until the year 2000, Akylbek Saliyev, the director of the Kyrgyz President's International Institute of Strategic Studies, told INTERFAX Tuesday [12 September].

Judging from opinion polls, said Saliyev, most of the deputies are ready to support the referendum. He also said that only 300,000 signatures were needed to raise the question of the referendum. By now, 1.164 million signatures have already been collected, he said.

In the current political setting, the parliament would make a mistake by disregarding the opinion of more than a million people or half of the voters, said Saliyev.

Tajikistan

Problems Developing in Pamir Border Region

MM1309111895 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 8 Sep 95 p 2

["Military review" by Vladimir Berezko: "Storm Clouds Over the Mountain Capital"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Khorog-Moscow — The agreement on a temporary cease-fire expired 27 August, but the start of the fifth round of inter-Tajik talks is not foreseen. If you take into account the fact that, even while the agreement was in force, the opposition did not bother to punctiliously fulfill its points — during the period from October 1994 through August 1995 more than 20 crossing points over the Pyandzh were destroyed just in the sector of the Khorog Border Detachment's 6th Subunit — then it becomes clear that the fall in Tajikistan could bring with it new fighting on the border....

But it cannot be claimed unequivocally that the inhabitants of the Pamir want war. Here is an eloquent example: Whereas both official Dushanbe and the opposition preferred not to mark a portentous date — the centenary of the Pamir's voluntary incorporation into Russia — the people of the Pamir did celebrate it. During our tour of the subunits scattered along the Tajik- Afghan border we could see with the naked eye the inhabitants' good attitude to the Russian border guards, who essentially constitute the border villages' only protection against marauding raids from Afghan territory. Incidentally, the local residents of the village of Yazgulem, where fighting took place in April, have demanded of Zaynezdin, the local gunmen's commander, that relations with the border guards be peaceful.

But the situation in the Pamir should not be idealized. The border guards reckon that gangs of "diehards" can be expected to step up their activity sharply in the Pamir in September and that combat operations can be expected to commence. As border experts pointed out repeatedly in conversation, it is mainly representatives of the Tajikistan Islamic Revival Movement [TIRM] who are fighting. Although the bandits have now been convinced from their own bitter experience that it is impossible to accede to power in Dushanbe by military means. Of interest in this situation is the mojahedin's assessment of the Russian border guards' role in Tajikistan, which one of our prisoners heard: "If Russia had not been defending the border, we would have taken Dushanbe in two days...." Therefore the bandits' most likely actions will be partisan, diversionary actions.

But there is also another side to the coin. Unlike the TIRM gunmen, the Pamir self-defense detachments, according to various assessments, are not inclined to wage "total" war against "infidels." This applies particularly to those parts of Gorno-Badakhshan inhabited by Ismailis — representatives of the more democratic branch of Islam. The recent visit to Tajikistan of Aga Khan IV — a living god to all the world's Ismailis, of whom there are something like 40 million — also helped to a certain extent to damp down "militant" sentiments.

The Aga Khan is categorically opposed to war and believes that it is necessary to live in peace with Russia.

The Russian border guards, incidentally, try to use this circumstance in their work to involve the Pamir self-defense detachments in guarding the state border. The first results have already been achieved. Kholbash Kholbashev, former chief of staff of the Rushan-Shugnan Pamir self-defense grouping, has gone over to the Tajik Government's side. Today he is a captain and commandant of the 1st Border Commandant's Office of the Tajik Security Ministry's Border Troops. The order setting up the first border subunit in the Pamir consisting of Pamir inhabitants was signed 9 June 1995. Maybe that day will become a festival for Pamir border guards. Kholbash gave a simple explanation of his move: "We want peace in this land." Kholbash also spoke readily of his relationship with his former "boss" — Madzhnun Pallayev, who commands the Rushan-Shugnan grouping and whose home is just 15 minutes' walk from the Khorog Border Detachment: "Madzhnun is not opposed to what we are doing."

Incidentally, it was Madzhnun's gunmen who aimed Degtyarev-Shpagin heavy machine guns at Khorog Border Detachment positions during the April fighting at Yazgulem. But our military reckons that Madzhnun is now more inclined to live peacefully. Although, as border guards evasively answered my questions, 100-percent guarantees should never be given....

It is probably possible to maintain just one thing unequivocally: If combat operations commence, the Russian "green caps" will once again take the brunt of the war. The fighting spirit of their Tajik "colleagues" does not always prove high. For example, 13 Tajik border guards simply upped and quit their post located in the region of the village of Navodak.

If active combat operations commence in the Pamir, the the Khorog and Kalayi-Khumbskiy Border Detachments' sectors will be the hottest. Lieutenant Colonel Vitaliy Nechayev, chief of staff of the Khorog Border Detachment, reckons that the Vanch-Yazgulem salient, where the two largest TIRM groupings are located, will be the most dangerous. According to observations from border posts, gunmen are being concentrated on the border.

Speaking of the possible development of events in Gorno-Badakhshan, we must take another aspect into consideration — drugs. It is no secret that the drugs business is livelihood of entire villages, and it is incredibly hard to combat it. In other words, drug smuggling flourishes here for economic reasons — there is no industry and, thus, no jobs either. It is routine to encounter someone "high" in the streets of Khorog, and it is possible to buy drugs, without exaggeration, everywhere. People contrived to offer us "grass" right on the steps of the khukumat (oblast executive committee)....

It is possible to maintain with a considerable degree of truth that instability on the border primarily benefits local dealers in the drugs business. Incidentally, one of the biggest crossing points on the Pyandzh in the sector of the Khorog Border Detachment's 6th Subunit was connected with drugs. Khudzhonazarov, a prominent Khorog bandit nicknamed Valera, used to go to Afghanistan. He is known for having killed five employees of the local law enforcement organs. Admittedly, the Afghan "campaign" ended sadly for him — Valera was seriously injured, and his gang routed.

It is characteristic that the "Chechen" route stands out clearly among the drug routes. Chechens come themselves and buy up drugs wholesale.

It is impossible to speak without bitterness of the local law enforcement organs' struggle against the drugs business. Whereas only recently border guards seized a 367 kg drug consignment, so far not one police post has "found" a single gram of drugs. Moreover, if border guards seize a drug consignment, they start to be pressured: Why don't you let the local police work? Police posts are starting to check... border columns particularly carefully. There have even been instances where money has been taken from officers. The obligatory demand is always that the drugs confiscated by border guards have to be handed over for destruction to the local law enforcement organs....

...As we were leaving Khorog, the sun was shining brightly above the mountains, as usual. No way did the weather presage an imminent thunderstorm. But storm clouds are appearing distinctly on the political horizon....

Uzbekistan

Economic Cooperation Agreement With Russia

954F3380A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Sep 95 p 12

["Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Government of the Russian Federation on the Basic Principles and Directions of Economic Cooperation for 1996-1997"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Government of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Government of the Russian Federation, hereinafter called the Parties and guided by the Treaty on the Principles of Interstate Relations, Friendship, and Cooperation Between the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Russian Federation of 30 May 1992 and the Treaty on an Intensification of Economic Integration Between the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Russian Federation of 2 March 1994 and also fundamental documents of the Commonwealth of Independent States, have for the formation of a common economic, scientific and technological, and humanitarian space of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Russian Federation on the principles of equality, respect for state sovereignty, and mutual benefit, proceeding from the need for a further strengthening and development of equal and mutually profitable trade and economic, research and production, and humanitarian relations and the imparting to them of a long-term and stable nature in the interests of both states and the increased well-being of their peoples, considering important economic reforms and a structural reorganization of the economy and the creation of favorable conditions for the development of market relations between the business entities of the two countries, and endeavoring to develop on qualitatively new principles the traditional economic, scientific and technological, and industrial engineering relations between enterprises, organizations, and other market agents and to stimulate interaction in the stabilization and upturn of the national economies and the efficient use of the economic potential of the two states, agreed as hereunder:

Article 1

The economic cooperation of the Parties shall be based on relations of strategic partnership, equality, and mutual benefit and pursued by way of direct interaction between business entities, regardless of their form of ownership and subordination, and also between state authorities and organizations with regard to generally recognized international standards and rules.

Each Party shall refrain from actions that could be detrimental to the interests of the other Party, shall create propitious conditions for the development of cooperation on a long-term basis for the business entities and state authorities and organizations of the two countries, and provide for the recognition and inviolability of the rights of ownership of legal entities and individuals of the state of the other Party on the territory of its state in accordance with national legislation.

Article 2

The Parties shall adopt specific measures to coordinate the current economic reforms, bring closer the national sets of legislation, harmonize structural, monetary, foreign exchange, tax, price, and social policy, and create mutually acceptable conditions for the phased transition to the unrestricted movement of goods, capital, and manpower between the two states.

In this connection the Parties shall instruct the authorized government departments with the participation of research and other interested organizations to hold consultations in 1995 to formulate recommendations for the coordinated nature of actions in the elaboration of the prescriptive and legal base of the market transformations.

Article 3

In the sphere of trade and economic cooperation the Parties shall take practical steps to stimulate an increase in reciprocal commodity turnover, realize free trade procedures on the territories of their states, and create equal legal and economic conditions for the business entities.

The Parties shall implement agreed measures in the coordination of foreign economic and customs policy and the gradual lifting of tariff and nontariff restrictions in reciprocal trade.

Article 4

The Parties shall render assistance in supplies of the most important types of industrial and agricultural products satisfying the requirements of the business entities.

The lists of such commodities shall be coordinated annually by separate protocols by the authorized bodies.

The clearing and credit relations of the business entities of the two states are to be regulated on a contractual basis between them.

Article 5

The Parties shall create a permanent intergovernmental commission for economic cooperation between the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Russian Federation for the elaboration of long-term programs of the development of bilateral trade and economic and other relations and the refinement of the mechanisms of their implementation for all sectors.

Article 6

The Parties will accelerate the establishment in Tashkent and Moscow of their trade missions and will facilitate the opening and activity on the territory of the two states of the offices of ministries and departments, organizations, and business entities.

The tasks, functions, and rights of the offices shall be determined by separate agreements of the Parties' authorized bodies.

Article 7

In the sphere of clearing and foreign exchange relations the Parties shall undertake joint operations to support the mutual convertibility of the national currencies by way of the establishment of a concerted procedure of the determination of currency rates, the maintenance of their stability, and the development of national currency markets.

Article 8

In the sphere of credit and financial cooperation the Parties shall adopt measures for the development of intergovernmental lines of credit and also for the enlistment of commercial, national, and international banks and investment, finance, and insurance companies for the combined financing of mutually profitable projects, the efficient use of production capacity and labor resources, and an increase in the export potentials of both states.

Article 9

The Parties shall adhere to the practice of the allocation of reciprocal government credit. The credit may be paid off also by way of additional supplies of products of which the state of the creditor-Party is in particular need, the conversion of debt into property form, the transfer of a block of shares and other securities, and long-term concessions.

Article 10

In the sphere of production integration the Parties shall assist the development of the optimum industrial engineering relations between enterprises of the two states and their rational specialization and joint labor, joint production and economic associations, and the increased competitive capacity of their products on domestic and world markets.

Article 11

The Parties shall promote the formation of joint financial and industrial groups and holding and leasing companies, the formation and activity of transnational associations, and the development of other progressive forms of the use of national sums of capital in the production, investment, financial and banking, and commercial spheres.

The Parties shall ensure favorable conditions and create efficient mechanisms for the encouragement of mutual investments and their protection.

The Parties will contribute to the opening and the activity on the territory of their states of branches and offices of commercial banks and finance and investment companies of the state of the other Party.

Article 12

The Parties confirm that goods and chattels and real property, including buildings, installations, pipelines, enterprises, and other property complexes, created on the territory of the state of one Party from investments or by legal entities and individuals of the state of the other Party shall be its (their) property.

Business entities of the state of one Party shall be entitled to purchase on the territory of the state of the other Party enterprises and organizations, shares in their property (stock), and licenses to use natural resources for economic activity not prohibited by legislation of the Parties.

Article 13

The Parties shall broaden cooperation in the sphere of transport and communications and make provision on the basis of reciprocity for nondiscriminatory conditions for the conveyance of passengers and freight by railroad, air, and motor transport between the two states and across their territories, including operations via airports, railroad and automotive stations, trunk pipelines, power systems, and communication lines located on the territory of the state of the other Party.

The procedure and the conditions of transportation and the use of communication lines will be determined by separate agreements of the authorized departments of the Parties and business entities.

Article 14

In the field of scientific and technological cooperation the Parties will assist the creation of joint research organizations in the interests of the development and realization of concerted basic and applied research projects and programs.

Article 15

The Parties shall adopt the necessary organizational and legal measures facilitating and encouraging the establishment of direct long-term economic and sociocultural ties between regions of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Russian Federation and will promote the formation and development of interregional trade and economic relations.

Article 16

The Parties shall adopt joint measures for economic support for humanitarian cooperation and conclude intergovernmental agreements on the procedure of the funding of the support for cultural centers, interacting in the field of health care, public education and the training of personnel with the highest qualifications, culture, and the press and information.

Article 17

The Parties shall increase coordination and develop and implement joint additional measures in the fight against crime in the economic sphere on the territories of both states and expand the organizational and legal base of the interaction of the competent bodies of their states with regard to bilateral and multilateral agreements that have been concluded within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States on the cooperation and interaction of the law enforcement authorities, the security authorities, and special services in the sphere of the fight against organized crime.

Article 18

In the sphere of military-technical cooperation the Parties shall implement additional measures in the development of integration relations of the defense enterprises.

The Parties express their firm intention to decide questions of military-technical cooperation on a mutually advantageous basis.

Article 19

The Parties shall instruct the corresponding national executive authorities to ensure the uncompensated regular exchange of information on matters of mutual interest.

Information obtained on a reciprocal basis and not being of a confidential nature may periodically be published in the national press.

Article 20

In the event of disputes over the interpretation or application of the provisions of this agreement arising, the Parties will resolve them by way of negotiations.

Article 21

This agreement shall take effect the day it is signed.

Done in the city of Tashkent on 27 July 1995 in two copies, each in Uzbek and Russian, both texts being equally valid, what is more.

President, Parliament To Form Constitutional Court

LD1209201895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1655 GMT 12 Sep 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The legislation on the Uzbek Constitutional Court [CC], adopted by parliament on August 30, has come into force Tuesday [12 September].

The CC will rule on consistency of parliamentary legislation, presidential decrees, government ordinances, the decisions of local authorities and international treaties with the country's Constitution. The court will be independent, its decisions will be made in a collegium, its proceedings will be open and the justices will have equal rights.

The CC will have a membership of 7, nominated by the president and approved by parliament for 5 years. Its members will be the country's citizens specializing in politics and law and having high moral standards.

Following the approval, the justice will take an oath to perform the duties of a CC justice honestly and to the best of his/her abilities and protect the constitutional order abiding by only the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

CC justices will not be legislature members or members of political parties or movements.

Armenia

'Significant Leaks' in Nuclear Plant's Hydraulic System

NC1209130095 Yerevan ARAGIL ELECTRONIC NEWS BULLETIN in English 1007 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yerevan ("LRAGIR","RESPUBLICA ARMENIA" dailies), 09/12/95 — Head of Armatomcontrol Mr. Ashot Martirosyan reported that, according to the schedule of reactivation of the second block of the Armenian Nuclear Power Plant [ANPP], hydraulic system of the first contour was being tested for durability between 31 August - 1 September. As a result, significant leaks were revealed in the junctions.

In order to compensate the leaks, required amount of boron liquid was supplied to the pipes. According to the experts, the tests passed normally, and no deviations of the radiation have been registered in the station or its environs. Still, head of Armatomcontrol said that security requirements of the "Technological regulations on using the second block of ANPP" does not provide clear instructions in regard with the amount of leaks or duration of the tests. To find out possible influence of the mentioned regime on the efficiency of the reactor frame, Armatomcontrol ordered the leaders of ANPP to provide an analysis of the mentioned regime, carried out by the chief constructor of the plant (Hydropress company of Russian Federation).

Mr. Martirosyan said that Hydropress now works on the analysis of materials of hydraulic tests, but the results are not known yet.

Minister Denies Crack in Power Plant Block

NC1209202095 Yerevan SNARK in English 1231 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yerevan, September 12. (SNARK)—Gagik Martirosyan, Armenian Minister of Energy, stated at a briefing held today that rumors about a crack observed in the second block of the Armenian Atomic Plant, do not coincide with the reality. According to him, currently results of the hydraulic tests are being summarized in the Atomic Plant and there is nothing to worry about. The work is being carried out together with Russian specialists.

Martirosyan noted that besides the credit worth 60 billion rubles for restarting the Atomic Plant, the Russian side has also delivered equipment worth 47 billion rubles and will deliver another 14 billion rubles in the future.

According to Martirosyan the Plant can start up shortly, but there is no need to start it up now. He said that they do not intend to supply energy free of charge and thus the start up date will depend on demand.

Former Deputy Security Chief Released From Prison

LD1209202095 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 1400 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Vahan Avagyan, the Armenian president's former first deputy chief adviser on national security, has been released from prison in Yerevan, an Ekho Moskvy radio station correspondent reported from the Armenian capital. Avagyan was arrested in May 1994 in Moscow and sentenced by the Armenian Supreme Court to four year's deprivation of freedom on charges of attempting to divulge state secrets.

Avagyan's early release is connected with specific pressure exerted on the Armenian leadership by human rights organizations, including international ones, the Ekho Moskvy radio station correspondent reports. Besides, a third of Avagyan's term in prison has passed and he could have been freed for exemplary behavior. According to another version, he could have been released because Armenia's new constitution forbids convictions based on unpublished legal acts.

We recall that the legislation on attempts to take information that constitutes a state secret out of Armenia — under which Avagyan was practically convicted — has not been published.

Avagyan is at present refusing to meet journalists. Official bodies are also refusing to comment, the Ekho Moskvy radio correspondent reported.

Azerbaijan

Report of U.S. Statement on Karabakh's Status

NC1209191095 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed viewers, we now bring to your attention a statement we just received that was obtained by AZERTAC from the U.S. Embassy in Azerbaijan.

The U.S. Embassy makes the following position known on recent Azerbaijani press reports regarding the U.S. Government's position on the status of Nagorno-Karabakh:

1. The United States respects Azerbaijan's territorial integrity.

2. The United States does not recognize the self-proclaimed Nagorno-Karabakh Republic.

3. The United States does not recognize Robert Kocharyan as the president of any institution.

4. The United States considers its task to be the restoration of peace in this region, and we will continue the talks with all those involved in the issue to further this process.

Report on U.S. Statement on Upcoming Elections

NC1209195095 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Foreign Ministry press service reports: The U.S. Embassy in Baku has issued the following statement regarding the upcoming parliamentary elections in Azerbaijan:

The United States applauds the Azerbaijan Government's decision to register numerous political parties on the eve of the parliamentary elections. While noting that all the parties have not been registered, we understand that by putting forward their own candidates at the election centers most of them will still have the opportunity to participate in the elections. We believe the Azerbaijani Government has taken its first successful step towards holding democratic elections in Azerbaijan. Certainly, much still needs to be done. During the next two months, the international community will continue to closely follow developments regarding the registration of all electors eligible to vote, the unimpeded use of the mass media by all candidates, the recognition of an extensive pre-election campaign period for the candidates and parties, and the facilitation of an open voting process in the presence of international and local observers.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Thanks World Bank Official for Support

LD1309092295 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The fact that Georgia exists as a state is very much due to the World Bank, said Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian Parliament and head of state, at a meeting with Wilfried Thalwitz, the World Bank vice president for Europe and Central Asia. The meeting was held today [12 September]. The head of state thanked Mr. Thalwitz and the World Bank for help and support.

We will continue helping you, said Thalwitz. We will help you repay your debts to Turkey, Turkmenistan, and Austria. We will also give you substantial assistance in the spheres of power engineering, education, finance, and in the creation of a sound commercial banking system.

Mr. Thalwitz also noted that at the initiative of Switzerland and under the aegis of the World Bank, it is planned to hold a conference on developing the economies of the independent states of the Transcaucasus. The head of state welcomed this proposal and expressed the hope that all three states would undoubtedly benefit from the results of the conference.

The meeting was attended by Georgian Deputy Prime Minister Temur Basilia.

Shevardnadze Meets With Security Service Heads

LD1209142695 Tbilisi IPRINDA in Russian 1300 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi, 12 Sep — An IPRINDA correspondent has been told at the press center of the head of state that Eduard Shevardnadze took part in a conference of heads of the Georgian Security Service on 12 September. In the words of Security Service Acting Head Avtandil Ioseliani, the security service is experiencing financial problems and its material and technical basis must be improved. In conclusion he noted that the security service supports the policy of the head of state and parliament and will do everything necessary for stabilization in the republic. For his part, Eduard Shevardnadze noted the contribution of the security service to stabilization in Georgia. However, despite this, the head of state also noted shortcomings in the work of the service, in particular concerning the terrorist act of 29 August [bomb attack which injured Shevardnadze].

Goguadze To Support Shevardnadze in Elections

LD1309065095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0608 GMT 13 Sep 95

[By Tengiz Pachkoria]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tbilisi, September 13 (ITAR-TASS) — Speaker of the Georgian Parliament Vakhtang Goguadze, who leads the "Sodeistvie" (Assistance) electoral bloc, in an interview with ITAR-TASS said that his bloc decided to support the candidature of Eduard Shevardnadze in the forthcoming presidential elections scheduled for November 5.

Goguadze noted that his bloc, which comes out for strengthening and developing friendly relations between Russia and Georgia and taking concrete measures to restore Georgia's territorial integrity, intends to take an active part in the forthcoming presidential elections in Georgia.

Meanwhile, at the invitation of the State Duma the Georgian speaker intends to address Duma lawmakers to comment on problems pertaining to developments in

Georgia and in particular, on problems of Abkhazian settlement.

Industrial Output Falls From Jan-July 1995

AU1309093395 Tbilisi REZONANSI in Georgian
7-8 Sep 95 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Georgia's Industry Is Again in a Hopeless Situation"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] According to figures supplied by the Socioeconomic Information Committee, the volume of output between January and July 1995 amounted to 300.8 trillion coupons according to current prices. Compared with January-July 1994, the volume of output in enterprises in Georgia fell by 70.3 trillion coupons according to comparative prices, or 19.3 percent. [passage omitted]

According to the results of work in January-July 1995, compared with the average rate for the republic (80.7 percent), a low rate of work was fixed in enterprises in the Ajarian Autonomous Republic (71.2 percent) and in the following towns: Tqibuli (42.4 percent), Poti (50.1 percent), Tsqaltubo (60.6 percent), Tbilisi (75.0 percent), and Kutaisi (75.2 percent); and in the following rayons: Senaki (25.9 percent), Sighnari (34.6 percent), Borjomi (47.6 percent), Kaspi (55.7 percent), Akhaltsike (60.4 percent), Telavi (62.2 percent), Ozurgeti (64.4 percent), and Lagodekhi (65.0 percent). It is significant that enterprises in Chiatura and in the Bolnisi, Zestaponi, Marneuli, Sagarejo, and Samtredia rayons functioned comparatively better.

Between January and July, goods to the value of 130.8 trillion coupons, or only 43.5 percent of what was produced (January-April: 32.7 percent; January-May: 36.1 percent; January-June: 40.0 percent), were transferred to the consumer, including 99.6 trillion coupons on the republic's territory.

In January-July 1995, compared with the same period last year, in physical terms, of the 100 most important types of goods, there was an increase in the production of 24 of these, a decrease in the production of 60, while 16 were not produced at all. [passage omitted]

In January-July 1995, compared with the same period in 1994, electricity production fell by 459 million kwh (10.8 percent), steel by 12,600 metric tons (19.4 percent), metal-cutting machine tools by 51 units (63.7 percent), motor gasoline by 2,000 metric tons (37.7 percent), diesel fuel by 1,600 metric tons (20.0 percent), cement by 9,000 metric tons (18.3 percent), and other goods.

The Number of Unemployed Has Fallen by 23,000

As of 1 July 1995, there were 57,000 job seekers registered at the republic's labor exchange, of whom 55,000 or 97 percent were out of work. Of the latter, 19 percent were given the status of being unemployed according to the Law on Employment.

Compared with the same period last year, the number of unemployed has fallen by approximately 23,000, but it has risen from 89 percent to 97 percent of all those seeking work. As of 1 July 1995, compared with the same period in 1994, the average period of unemployment has risen from nine to 10 months. The official unemployment level was 3.1 percent. [passage omitted]

Abkhazia Tightens Security, Fears New Attacks

LD1209140295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1339 GMT 12 Sep 95

[By Irina Shchegoleva]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] SOCHI, September 12 (ITAR-TASS) — Security is being tightened across Abkhazia in the aftermath of the slaying of Abkhazian Deputy Prime Minister Yuri Voronov late on Monday [11 September].

The guard of governmental and major public buildings is being reinforced.

"We have every reason to believe that terrorist acts targeted against public servants of Abkhazia will be continued," a source close to the Abkhazian leadership said in an interview with ITAR-TASS.

However, the source dismissed the statements by some of Abkhazian officials that the Georgian leadership is behind the slaying of Voronov.

Nonetheless, Abkhazian Deputy Interior Minister Vitaliy Smyr described Voronov's death as "ordered and political" assassination.

The Abkhazian parliament and the government are to meet on Wednesday for an emergency joint session to discuss the situation in Abkhazia and stronger security measures.

Abkhaz Leader: Voronov's Killers Will Be Found

LD1209172995 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Leader of Abkhazia Vladislav Ardzinba appeared on local television today in connection with the murder of the republic's Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Voronov. He assured viewers that the perpetrators of the act of terrorism would be found.

According to a report from our correspondent, the bodies of law and order in the neighboring city of Sochi have joined the investigation. Three suspects have already been arrested.

Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has expressed condolences with regard to Voronov's murder.

Suspects Arrested in Murder

LD1209161695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1348 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sukhumi, Sept 12 (INTERFAX) — Police in Sukhumi Tuesday arrested another man suspected of killing the republic's Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Voronov, chairman of the Abkhazian security service Astamur Tarba told INTERFAX.

The Abkhazian police had arrested three suspects by 3:00 p.m. on Tuesday. Another suspect is also wanted, Tarba said.

On Monday evening Abkhazian security forces blocked the city of Sukhumi due to the murder. There are patrols in all districts and highways of the republic. Protection of the border between Abkhazia, Russia and Georgia was also reinforced to prevent the murderers from leaving Abkhazia.

Estonia

President Discusses Russian Border Issue, NATO

LD1209212595 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1900 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Beginning missed due to technical reasons] Answering questions after his speech at the [Swedish] Foreign Policy Institute, Estonian President Lennart Meri said that he considered it unrealistic that any land will be regained from Russia. The president noted that it will not be easy to give up land, but Estonia must take a practical approach to the matter. Meri added that the border issue must be resolved before Estonia becomes a member of the European Union.

When asked whether it will not be best to disband NATO as an organization dating from the times of the Cold War and create a new, all-embracing security structure, Meri replied that when it rains one should not throw away one's umbrella before obtaining a new one. The president added that NATO has been acting as the protective shield for Europe.

When asked about Estonian-Ukrainian relations, Meri said that Estonia is doing everything to enable Ukraine to become a member of the Council of Europe as soon as possible.

One of the people asking questions recalled what Meri had said five years previously, that he personally would not invest in Estonia, and asked whether the president's view had changed by now. The president said that in 1995 his answer will be positive.

The news was reported by BNS.

Former Russian Servicemen Get Residence Permits

LD1209212495 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The government has granted fixed-term residence permits to 56 retired Russian servicemen. Among those granted permits are also some ex-servicemen's families. Approximately 10,000 former Russian servicemen and their families wish to continue to live in Estonia.

The government granted first five-year residence permits to Russian ex-servicemen at the beginning of July. On that occasion 68 ex-servicemen obtained residence permits and during the summer the government has accepted another few dozen ex-servicemen's applications to stay in Estonia.

Government Plans To Scrutinize Russian Schools

LD1209220995 Tallinn Reklaamitelevisioon Network in Estonian 1730 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Estonia wants to put a stop to the activity of firms that are selling study courses run by Russian state universities. Russia has unilateral plans to provide study opportunities to the Russians living in Estonia, but has failed to coordinate those with Estonian laws.

[Begin unidentified official recording] We aim to resolve this issue in conjunction with the Foreign Ministry. These schools should in principle be closed. Another possibility is that they might then continue to operate underground and we will not be able to run a daily watch on them. So we are deliberating what we should do about it. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Premier on Change in Privatization Policy, Tax Debts

LD1209212095 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1900 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The government has refused to write off tax debts of four major state enterprises. Commenting on the government's decision, Prime Minister Tiit Vahi said that the government could no longer continue this incomprehensible policy, which began nearly a year ago, whereby the more vigorous part of an enterprise was set apart, then sold through privatization, and the part that was not sold was left with the tax debts. According to Vahi, the government has brought the Privatization Agency under the Ministry of Economy just for this reason that state enterprises should be privatized in a most expedient manner most profitable to the state.

Vahi named Eesti Kutus [Estonian Fuel], Esoil, Estel, and Baltijets among the enterprises that had applied for their debts to be written off.

Latvia

Foreign Minister Birkavs Returns From Germany

LD1209203295 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] This evening, after a slight delay, Latvia's Foreign Minister Valdis Birkavs returned from Germany. [passage omitted]

[Begin Birkavs recording] [German Foreign Minister] Klaus Kinkel's view is that the North Atlantic Council must adopt a decision that also affects the Baltic countries. In the new architecture of European security there must be no gray areas, and the Baltic countries will not be placed in an inferior position in its extension. [end recording]

Discussing issues that affect the two countries' bilateral relations, the German foreign minister had emphasized that there are no fundamental problems in the way of a visa-free regime between the two countries. What is necessary are preparatory (steps). Although the Russian president and foreign minister have said a categorical no to the NATO extension, the Latvian foreign minister, at the end of the news conference, asserted that Latvia's foreign policy goal remains unchanged: It will continue doing everything for our country to join the European Union and become a full member state of NATO.

Gailis Plays Down Crisis in Border Guards

LD1209153395 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The statement by the Border Guards about a critical situation in guarding the border is a political matter connected with the pre-election campaign, Maris Gailis, head of the Latvian government and defense minister, has announced. It is possibly connected with the imminent transfer of the Border Guards Brigade to the jurisdiction of the Interior Ministry. The defense minister admitted the possibility that the commander of the Border Guards is a pawn in the hands of some political force.

Maris Gailis explained that the Cabinet of Ministers has not decided on, nor examined the issue of reducing or disbanding the brigade. Nor has the cabinet decision to reduce the budget by 40 percent been made yet

Minister Says Budget Situation 'Dramatic'

LD1209185795 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In the first week of September the situation in the revenue part of the state budget is dramatic, the Latvian parliamentary Budget and Finance Commission was told today by Alija Poca, the minister of state for state revenue. Only 5.5 million lats were deposited into the state budget. The revenue in the state (?commercial) budget is 4.9 million lats. Seven hundred ninety-five thousand lats have been transferred to the special health care budget. At present 51 percent of all state revenue comes from (?funds levied in) taxes.

Lithuania

Defense Minister, Danish Counterpart Depart for Croatia

LD1209132595 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] National Defense Minister Linas Linkevicius left for Croatia this morning.

Together with Danish Defense Minister Hans Haekkerup and an Estonian delegation he will visit the servicemen at the peacekeeping mission in that country.

At the moment, a third Lithuanian peacekeeping unit is serving in Croatia. The unit left for former Yugoslavia on 18 August. Our servicemen are serving in the Danish battalion Danbat.

Slezevicius Leaves For Conference in Switzerland

LD1209163095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1348 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vilnius, Sept 12 (INTERFAX) — Lithuania's Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius left for Switzerland on Tuesday morning [12 September] for a one-day working visit.

His press service reported to INTERFAX that the main aim of his trip to Zurich is to attend an international conference on investment in Lithuania's economy.

Besides this, he is to meet with Swiss President Kaspar Villiger and Economics Minister Jean-Pascal-Deamuraz to discuss ways of promoting cooperation between the two countries.

Commercial ties between Lithuania and Switzerland have been gathering momentum. According to the Lithuanian Department for Statistics, over the first four months of this year Lithuania exported to Switzerland commodities worth $7.34 million. The proportion of deliveries to Switzerland out of all Lithuanian exports was up 0.2 percent from last year to 1.6 percent. Import from Switzerland was $8.70 million or 1.5 percent of entire imports (1.2 percent in 1994) over the period.

This year, Vilnius has already explored possibilities of foreign investment in Lithuania at international gatherings in London, Copenhagen, Duisburg, Helsinki, and Athens.

President Welcomes Seimas, Presidency Cooperation

LD1209131595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1057 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vilnius, Sept 12 (INTERFAX) — Lithuanian legislation is being improved, and the President and the Seimas (parliament) "have not had major differences," Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas told national TV Monday night [11 September].

Seimas leader Ceslovas Jursenas was also a participant in the TV program.

He said that the parliament "feels favorably toward the president." Commenting on reasons for constructive cooperation between the presidency and the parliament, Jursenas said the president has returned only 3 percent of laws to the parliament for improvement within almost three years of parliament's work.

Brazauskas spoke against parliamentary discussion of laws lasting "for months or years", and said "bills should be either adopted in a short time or rejected." He stressed that the Seimas should "pay maximum attention to social problems, laws to increase revenues of individuals, and improved pension legislation."

He said he plans to initiate a parliamentary discussion on amendments and additions to the Criminal and Civil Codes and the Code of Practice, as well as laws and normative acts on improved anti-crime measures.

Brazauskas Speaks on Tasks Facing Parliament

LD1209184695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1655 GMT 12 Sep 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Algirdas Brazauskas has asked parliament to discuss amendments to the criminal, civil and procedural codes. He was speaking on television on Monday [11 September].

President Brazauskas said that the improvement of laws and legal acts was called to enhance the struggle against crime by various means, for instance, by legalizing the wider use of confiscation of property as punishment for white collar crimes.

As parliament gathered last Sunday for the autumn session, Brazauskas said he would like the adoption of laws not to be extended over months and years. The bills being discussed already must be either passed within tighter deadlines or turned down.

President Brazauskas deplored that the law on the protection of bank deposits began to be drafted too late. He would like the law to be passed by the end of September.

President Brazauskas pointed to the need for forming in the near future a special fund to compensate for the damage caused to customers affected by the bankruptcies of banks and other credit establishments.

On the whole President Brazauskas believes that Lithuanian legislation is being improved and there have been no major controversies in his relations with parliament.

As he dwelt upon the economic situation in Lithuania, President Brazauskas agreed that as market economy relations developed, society's stratification along property lines increased. He said that there had appeared a group of people who received big, in some cases, not quite legal incomes, whereas those who had worked honestly all their life were in a deplorable position.

President Brazauskas called for the understanding that such tendencies were caused by objective factors, but at the same time he said that parliament must pay the maximum attention to social problems, forming a legal basis for increasing people's incomes and improving pensions.

As the election campaign has got underway (Lithuania's parliamentary elections are due next autumn), the head of state said he would like fair political competition.

Parliamentary speaker Ceslovas Jursenas, who took part in the television program, said that he had no particular illusions about the election struggle, because "we must be prepared for rivalry in various forms".

About constructive cooperation by the legislative and executive branches of power Jursenas said that over the nearly three years this parliament had been in office the President turned down for reconsideration a mere three percent of the adopted bills.

Jursenas said that parliament was on turn friendly towards the president.